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ABSTRACT

Career and career-related preferences rural youth made and estimation of degree to which choices were translated into adult behavior were investigated by tracing a rural sample of southern 1968 high school graduates through the first four years of post-high school. Focus was on choices expressed and attainments experienced with respect to education, occupation, marriage, fertility, residence, and military service. Sex and race variation was analyzed. Results indicated: (1) social origins and school tracking--low predictability for estimating achievement levels; (2) adolescent preferences--all four race and sex groups expressed mainstream American success orientations; (3) early adult behavior and preferences--dominant influence was educational preference, followed by occupational preferences and marriage plans (high level educational/occupational preferences facilitated, early marriage preference depressed attainment); (4) sex differences--apparent in content of career preferences (restricted sex-typed orientations) and greater depressing effects of familial influences; and (5) race differences--harder for Blacks to transmit advantages achieved at any stage to the next phase. Implications are that programs for rural women should expand preference content of orientation and stress results of early marriage/fertility on attainment, and programs for rural Blacks should focus on ways to transmit preferences into attainment. (RS)

Education and Work in Rural America
The Social Context of Early Career Decision and Achievement

ED164215

edited by Arthur G. Cosby and Ivan Charner

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Foreword by Jarvis E. Miller

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In Memory of

Virlyn A. Boyd

1921 - 1977

Colleague and Friend

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FORWARD

This research monograph on rural youth appears at a time when the promise and the problems of Rural America have recaptured the nation's imagination. The renewed national conscience is reflected not only in the increased concern for meaningful, effective programs for those in and from rural areas, but also in a number of visible features in the life styles of mass society. It is no accident that styles of music and dress once restricted to the countryside have now surfaced as fashionable in the cities. Significantly, the recent election of a president with social origins rooted in the hinterlands signals a recognition of the rural areas as a source of talent and leadership.

A number of powerful forces that generally serve to intensify the interdependence and interpenetration of the rural and urban sectors can be seen underlying this new consciousness. The impact of widespread educational opportunity and mass communication has been pervasive. This sharing of societal experiences, information and values has done much to bring rural folk into the mainstream of American society. The provincialism that has historically characterized the countryside can no longer be viewed seriously as an essence of rurality. Agriculture, the economic backbone of rural society, has gained new respectability while remaining both a strong component of the U.S. economy and an indispensable element in foreign policy and international trade. At a more individual level rural areas are being seen as a desirable place for residence, work and recreation; the numbers of people expressing desires for rural residence far exceed those experiencing it. The recent rural-urban turnaround in population growth is evidence of this trend.

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Although the prospects for Rural America appear favorable, it would be misleading to assume that many social and economic problems do not remain. The most severe of these problems is the general underdevelopment of rural human resources. Rural America still has more than its share of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and malnutrition. Rural Blacks, women, Hispanics, Native Americans and migrant laborers easily constitute sizable, special populations with important and often unique problems. The rural areas produce more youth than their occupational structure can sustain. Educational institutions, though vastly improved over past decades, still need improvements in quality and breadth of problems; health care and community service often remain substandard.

Education and Work in Rural America addresses the issue of human resources by investigating the intricate process through which educational and occupational successes or failures occur. It is novel in bringing this analysis to a broad base rural population--especially with respect to rural minorities. The richness of the data provides an assessment of the impact of a variety of life choices and preferences. By clearly documenting the far-reaching consequences that adolescent attitudes have for later adult achievement, this evaluation identifies that stage as a critical point of intervention for efforts designed to improve educational and occupational chances. The authors tell us that aspirations for high achievement developed early in life are extremely important for actual attainment years later and that lower achievement among rural blacks is not a consequence of lesser ambitions but rather of a lesser ability to translate desires into subsequent attainment. Furthermore, the book sheds light on the complexity of female achievement by demonstrating the special effects of marital and fertility

plans. These findings, in addition to numerous others in the report, make a considerable contribution to our knowledge of rural youth. We are fortunate for the efforts of these researchers for they provide sound and usable information. It is our hope and expectation that their good work will benefit the millions of rural youth in realizing their desires and ambitions.

Jarvis E. Miller
President
Texas A&M University

EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Southern Youth Study (SYS) is the collective product of the efforts and commitments of a great number of individuals and institutions contributed over more than a decade. Consequently, this edited research monograph owes a debt of gratitude to those who have made this long-term investigation of rural youth possible. We readily acknowledge that the present study would have been impossible without their many contributions.

The intellectual inspiration underlying the organization of a research project dedicated to a long-term longitudinal study of rural youth can be traced in large part to William P. Kuvlesky of Texas A&M University. His recognition of both the societal importance of information about rural youth and of the organizational structure needed to carry out a broad base regional study has formed the foundation for over fifteen years of collective research that still continues today. John Dunkelberger at Auburn University, Virlyn A. Boyd at Clemson University, Melvin K. Knapp and John D. Kelly at the University of Georgia, Calvin L. Vanlandingham at Mississippi State University, and Lee Taylor and Pedro Hernandez at Louisiana State University not only shared with Kuvlesky the desire to conduct such a study, they also organized research teams within their states to collect data in 1966 and 1968. Their articles and reports resulting from this early data have considerably advanced our knowledge about developmental processes of rural youth. In addition, their unusual generosity and support in sharing data with other researchers has greatly expanded the scope and social worth of their efforts.

In the early 1970's it was apparent that an extension of the SYS

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would provide an unusual opportunity to examine the linkage between adolescent attitudes and early adult behaviors. This would require the relocation and interview of respondents who participated in the 1966 and 1968 studies. A new research team was formed that consisted primarily of the first group with several additions. George W. Ohlendorf of Louisiana State University, Raymond Sollie and John K. Thomas both of Mississippi State University, joined the group to carry out this third data collection. Their skills as researchers along with the skills of those in the original group are reflected in the good quality of the resulting data. To all the above we owe a special appreciation for they provided the intellectual milieu and colleagueship that sustains the long and tedious research dictated by longitudinal designs.

Much credit is due to the Home Community and Work Division of the National Institute of Education for their advice, encouragement, and financial support in this analysis of Southern Youth data. Of special note is the unselfish assistance given by Robert Wise, Mary Lous Randour, and Robert Pruitt during the preparation of this report. Also the Agriculture Experiment Stations of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas deserve recognition for their support and financial assistance. E.V. Smith of the Auburn Experiment Station and Jarvis E. Miller of the Texas Agriculture Experiment Station deserve recognition for their advice and encouragement. Of equal importance has been the guidance and friendship of Ed Moe of the Cooperative State Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

A special debt is owed to several graduate students at Texas A&M University who have participated as full colleagues throughout the data

collection and analysis. Their assistance has given direction to the research as well as contributing to the gruesome leg work required. They include Snow White, Sharon Kirkland, Ed Ulbricht, Sue Sanchez, Lianne Frank, Geneva Newcomb, Jim Darby and Wayne Byrd. Also the superb secretarial and technical assistance provided by Audrey Velasquez, Karen Reese, Alisha Ground, Peggy Hipp, Cathy Carter, Patti Galbraith, Leslie Rust, Amy Scurlock, Debbie Shriver and Judi Gilliam has been of the highest caliber. In addition, John Womack has provided the excellent computer assistance necessary for the conduct of the study.

Of course the greatest debt in this endeavor must be reserved for the researchers who have provided chapters and sets of analysis for this report: William W. Falk, J. Steven Picou, William G. Howard, John Kanon Thomas, Frank M. Howell and Virginia P. McDermott. Their willingness to share their competance, insights, and wisdom in the various chapters of this monograph underlies the strength of the report. Their dedication to the task at hand and personal friendship has made this an enjoyable experience.

Arthur G. Cosby
Texas A&M University

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National Manpower Institute

Education and Work in Rural America
The Social Context of Early Career Decision and Achievement

Chapter I

RURAL YOUTH IN CONTEXT

Arthur G. Cosby
Virginia P. McDermott

Introduction

The process through which youth develop preferences and make decisions about critical life issues and the ways in which they translate these into actual adult behavior has been an enduring concern among educators and social scientists. How and what kind of preferences do youth develop for educational achievement, occupational attainment, residence, marriage, and fertility? How and to what degree are they able to translate these into actual achievements? As a research question, the problem is especially acute among groups which have historically experienced lower achievement and attainment: the poor, ethnic and racial minorities, women and rural populations. An improved understanding of this complex phenomenon of "taking on the adult role: is essential for efforts directed toward the reduction of societal inequalities.

Arthur G. Cosby is Associate Professor of Sociology and Rural Sociology at Texas A&M University. His research on issues in rural education, rural youth and minorities has appeared in a number of sociology and related journals. His current research includes the massification and urbanization of professional agriculture and the socio-history of racism and architecture.

Virginia P. McDermott is a Research Associate at Texas A&M University. She is a graduate of Queens College and is currently pursuing graduate studies in Cultural Anthropology. Ms. McDermott's research has centered on racial inequality and sexism in educational literature.

This monograph provides an investigation into the choices that youth make. It examines the relationship between choices and actual behaviors, and how new choices develop as young adults. It focuses on a broad population of rural Deep South youth, both Black and White, both male and female, at a critical point (circa 1966-1972) in the historical development of education in that region. The general strategy of the study utilizes sets of social surveys carried out over a six-year period beginning in 1966 which follow the same individuals into adulthood during the early 1970's. This period is an especially strategic one since it overlaps several fundamental changes in Southern society. Of prime importance during this time was the intense drive for racial equity as reflected in the civil rights movement, the subsequent forced desegregation of public schools, and to some degree, the height of school consolidation. It can, therefore, be assumed that analysis of the choices and attainments of this special population will allow for insights into career decisions and achievements within a context of rapid social change particularly where minority youth were perhaps perceiving increased opportunities, improvement of educational facilities, and, in general, a period of rising expectations.

The Conceptual Model

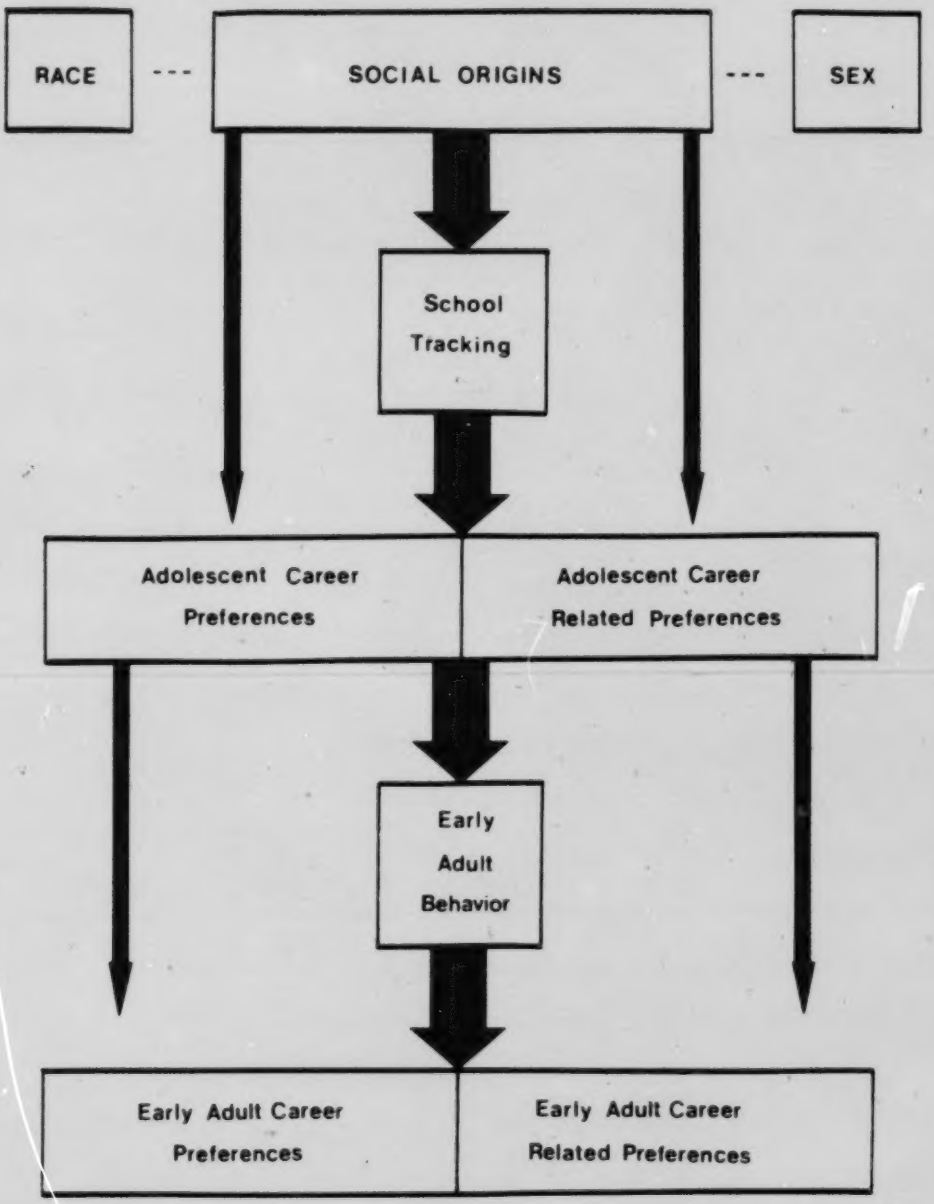
The focus of the empirical analysis in the subsequent pages of this monograph is an investigation of the processes through which careers and career-related preferences are developed during adolescence. The influence that such attitudes may have upon early adult behaviors is examined as well as the consequences that these factors collectively

have upon the reformulation of new career and career-related preferences in young adulthood. In Figure 1-1 the conceptual model is depicted. It serves as a guide for the analysis by pointing to the general processual order of influences to be considered and to the general types of variables that will be incorporated. The model is based upon research literature stressing life-cycle changes brought to the forefront in developmental theory in Psychology and status attainment theory in Sociology. Its underlying assumption is that career decision making is carried out in conjunction with social maturation; and as such it is a highly dynamic process subject to different sets of influences at each new point in an individual's life cycle.

The model specifically addresses a number of research issues concerning the maturation process which occurs during late adolescence and early adulthood. It explicitly points to possible influences of social origins and school tracking upon adolescent career preferences. It addresses the question that once these attitudes are developed, to what extent can youth translate them into actual adult behaviors? And, given the probable mediating influence of early adult maturation and experiences, how are these same types of attitudes reformulated?

At every point in the analysis that research investigates relationships among the varied influences in the career decision making model, an accompanying comparative issue is empirically assessed. Examination is made of the maturation process and whether it differs with respect to sex and race of the respondents. That is, does the career decision making process differ substantially at any point or perhaps in its totality for men and women or for Blacks and Whites?

Figure 1-1: A Study Model of Career Decision Making Processes



The research monograph is organized in several chapters to closely parallel the foregoing plan of analysis:

Chapter II---A review of social-psychological and status attainment literature is reviewed pointing to those conceptual issues that impinge upon the development of the study model. In addition the concepts of rural, rurality, race, and sex are investigated as possible constraining influences upon career decisions and career achievement.

Chapter III---The methods of the Southern Youth Study are reviewed with a description of data collection, characteristics of the students and of measurement.

Chapter IV---A sex and race comparison is carried out contrasting the variable levels at each phase in the process. Are sex-race differences in attitudes (career and career-related) evident during adolescence? During early adulthood? What are the sex-race differences in actual attainment?

Chapter V---An analysis is conducted assessing the differential abilities of youth to translate their preferences into actual behavior. Which sex-race groupings have the most success (or perhaps social power) in actually attaining their goals?

Chapter VI---What are the sex-race differences in the overall process of career decision making? What are the fundamental differences? Who benefits most from the process?

Chapter VII---An overview of the research findings is provided along with a critical assessment of the study model for explaining actual attitudes and behaviors. Policy implications of the research are outlined.

Demography of Rural Youth

Before proceeding with a discussion of the specific population that will be studied herein, it appears necessary to overview the context of rural youth in America, especially with regard to population distribution and composition. There is a misconception that the general rural population of the United States represents only a small and

and insignificant segment of the population. Admittedly, it is a demographic history that the proportion of Americans classified as rural has consistently decreased since the beginning of the Republic. The basic misunderstanding seems rooted in a generalization that this shift from rural to urban dominance has left the rural population as a small and insignificant part of the population. A careful examination of census data simply does not support this judgment for either the total rural population or for rural youth. Rural adults and rural youth constitute large and important segments of the population. Using 1970 census estimates as a point of reference, the total rural population was over 53.8 million people, indicating that about one out of every four Americans are currently residing on a farm, in the open country, or a small town or village. Interestingly, the rural youth population is no less substantial. Nearly one-half (46.4%) of the total rural population in 1970 was less than 25 years of age--a figure indicating approximately 25 million rural youth in America (Jimenez, 1974). These figures clearly demonstrate that Rural Americans comprise a significant population and hardly represent a small, unimportant segment.

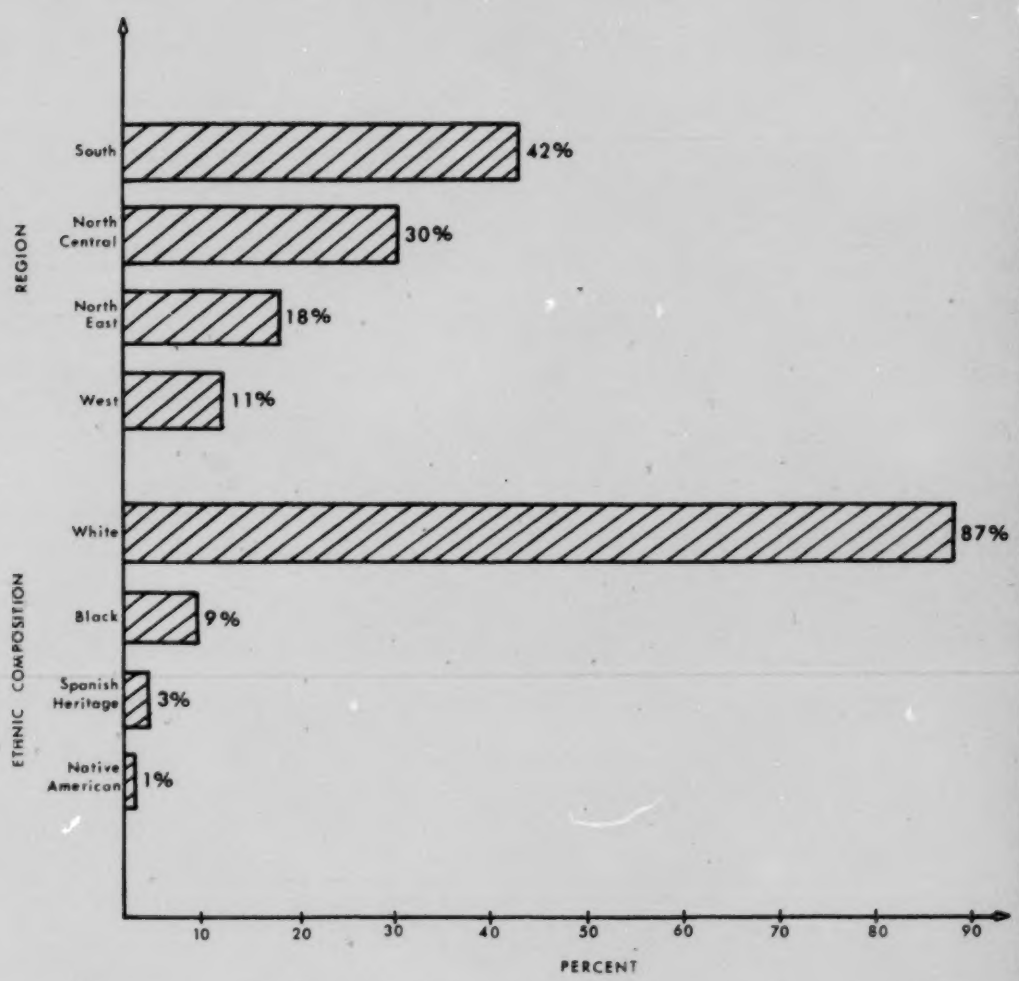
Not only does the rural youth population constitute a large part of the youth population, there is evidence emerging which strongly suggests that rural areas are now growing faster than urban ones and that the long-term trend toward urban dominance may have reversed (Beale, 1975). Since 1970, rural areas have shown substantially higher rates of growth than urban areas. In addition, national poll data indicates a possibly huge reservoir of preferences for rural

life even among urban groups. Since 1968, for example, Gallop poll data has indicated that over 50 percent of the United States population prefer to live in a rural area while only about one-half of that percentage actually do (Cosby and Howard, 1976).

Geographically, the numbers of rural youth are not evenly distributed across the nation (Figure 1-2). The Southern Region is seen as an especially strategic area since it represents the largest concentration. Of the approximately 25 million rural youth, about 10.5 million, or just under 50 percent, of the total rural youth population is located in the southern United States. The North-Central Region represents the only other substantial concentration with about 7.4 million or 30 percent of the total rural youth population (Upham and Jimenez, 1973; Jimenez, 1974).

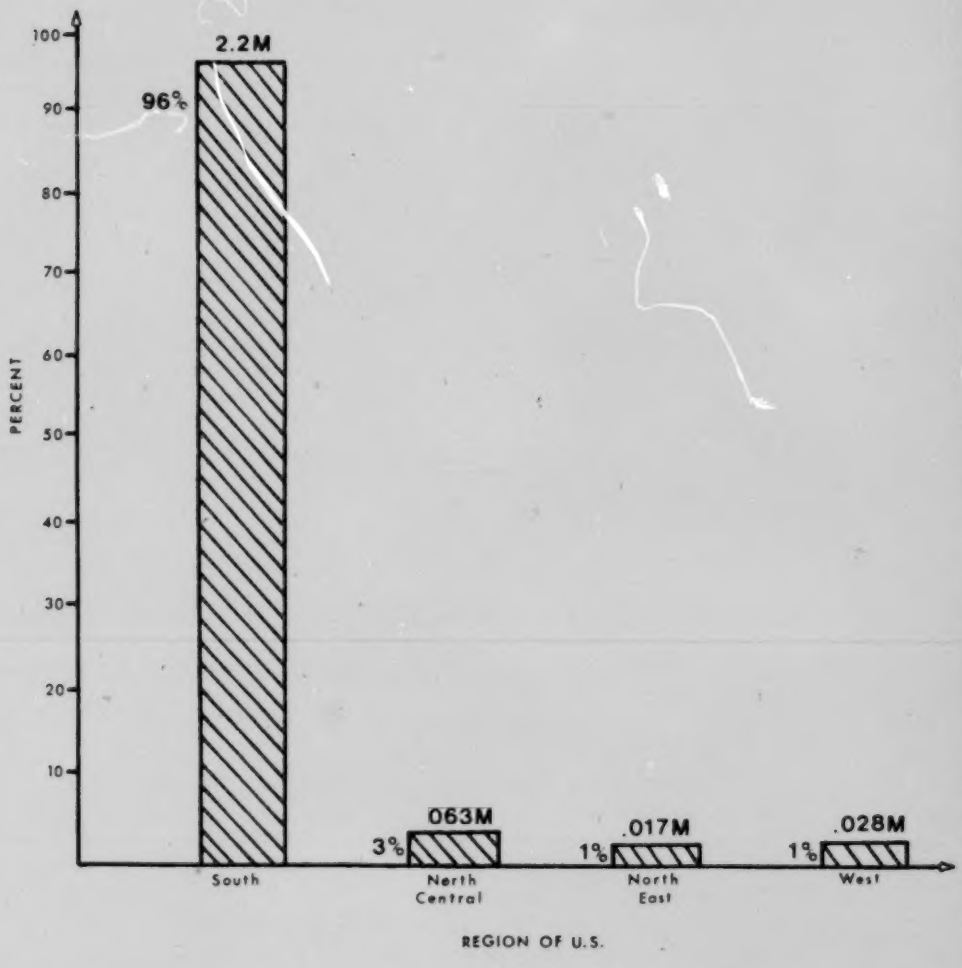
Ethnically, the vast majority of rural youth are classified as White. Using 1970 estimates, approximately 88 percent of rural youth was found to be White and only 12 percent were classified as ethnic minorities (Figure 1-2). There were 2.3 million Blacks (9%), 700,000 Spanish heritage (3%) and 300,000 Native Americans (1%), (Jimenez, 1974). Whereas White youth are distributed in dominant numbers throughout all regions of the nation, ethnic minorities tend to be concentrated in specific areas. Rural Black youth are almost exclusively a Southern phenomenon. Ninety-six percent of all rural Black youth are found in the 16 Southern states (Figure 1-3). Within this region the states with the highest concentration are Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia and Texas (Upham and Jimenez, 1973). In these states, the percentages of

Figure 1-2: Regional and Ethnic Variations of the Rural Youth Population (under 25 years) in the United States, 1970 U.S. Census of Population



[a]Source: Luis A. Jimenez, "The Ethnic Composition of Rural Youth in the United States: General Characteristics and Regional Comparisons"; Prairie View A&M University, Cooperative Research Center, Information Report No. 73-3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1970 Census of Population Fourth Count Summary Tape". Processed at Texas A&M University Computer Center.

Figure 1-3: Black Rural Youth Population (under 25 years) in the United States by Region, 1970[a]



[a]Source: Luis A. Jimenez, "The Ethnic Composition of Rural Youth in the United States: General Characteristics and Regional Comparisons"; Prairie View A&M University, Cooperative Research Center, Information Report No. 73-3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1970 Census of Population Fourth Count Summary Tape". Processed at Texas A&M University Computer Center.

rural Black youth generally range between a quarter and one-third of the states' total rural youth population.

The most obvious consequence of overviewing the foregoing data on current rural populations is that the figures counter any misconception that rural folk and consequently rural students make up only a small and relatively unimportant segment of the total U.S. population. Clearly, the rural areas are providing a substantial part of the nation's labor supply and probably will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. It also follows that the nature and quality of rural schools will have a strong impact upon the talent and effectiveness of this very sizeable labor pool. At this point, the argument is strong to view the relationship between education and work in Rural America as a national issue of some significance.

Other noteworthy characteristics also emerge from the data. There are tremendous ethnic and regional variations in the rural population that imply even more important cultural and social differences. William P. Kuvlesky (1977) has pointed to diversity of background, cultural heritage, values and aspirations, and Jonathan P. Sher (1977) to the "pluralism in the countryside" as characteristic of rural society.

For the purposes of this study, the foregoing demographic overview points to two fundamental conclusions. First, and most importantly, the study of career decisions among rural youth is a serious concern, since they do constitute a large and identifiable youth population. Secondly, the question of racial differences in the career decision process of rural youth is necessarily a Southern

phenomenon. Therefore this study provides an unusual opportunity for observing racial differences in achievement and attainment within a rural setting.

Rural Desegregation

It can be recalled that as recently as the mid-1960's the vast majority of Southern rural students were attending dual, segregated elementary and secondary schools. However, by the mid-70's, a substantial number were attending desegregated institutions. Consequently, the population investigated in this research were in many cases the cohort of Southern youth who first experienced school desegregation. Analysis of this problem has been investigated elsewhere (Falk and Cosby, 1975; Falk, 1976). The process of desegregation in rural schools seems to have been accompanied in most communities by consolidation of a dual system to a single county-wide school. We estimate that the process may have involved the desegregation of as many as six million formerly segregated students. The point at hand is that desegregation of the South, and a large part of this in rural schools, represents a fundamental and dramatic change in educational institutions in the region.

During the same period, a counter trend to school desegregation has been the development of a network of private, predominantly all white elementary and secondary schools in the Southern region. A Southern and largely rural version of metropolitan white flight. In rural and small town counties which have only one school system, it is physically impossible to engage in the flight to other public school

locals within the immediate area which have a "desirable racial makeup." Consequently, the trend has been to establish a separate private school system. An examination of public and private school enrollments between the general period of 1966 to 1976, indicate that while private school enrollment in the nation has slightly decreased, that private school enrollment in the South has shown sharp and substantial growth. Analysis of this growth (Cosby, et al., 1978) indicate growth of private schools has been highest in those states with the highest percentage of Black students and the highest percentage of rural residents. States such as Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina (three of the states in the Southern Youth Study) have had the most substantial increases. Table 1-1 provides the enrollment figures for both private and public school enrollment for this period.

It is necessary to consider school desegregation and the growth of private schools, in the context of the present discussion of career decisions of rural youth, since the respondents were selected from that group of youth who went through the trauma of these events. In this context, desegregation, with the accompanying possibilities of interracial tensions, rising expectations of Southern Blacks and the associated turmoil of the reorganization of many schools, sets the backdrop for understanding the educational milieu in which occupational and related decisions were being made.

Rural Folk as a Minority

There appears to be advantages and considerable justification in viewing the rural population as a near- or quasi-minority group.

TABLE 1-1: The Growth of Public and Non-Public Schools in the Six States Examined in the Southern Youth Study: 1966-1976.

	Public School Enrollment Base-1968	Change in Public Enrollment: 1968-1973	Change in Public Enrollment: 1968-1976	Non-Public Schools Enrollment Base-1966	Change in Non-Public Enrollment: 1966-1973	Change in Non-Public Enrollment: 1966-1976
Alabama	831,661	- 6.8	- 38.6	30,350	+ 71.7	+ 85.8
Georgia	1,103,306	- 2.2	- 1.8	28,147	+ 8.4	+144.3
Louisiana	864,765	- 3.2	- 3.0	142,822	- 5.4	+ 16.2
Mississippi	581,734	- 10.6	- 13.0	21,521	+203.4	+208.1
South Carolina	648,694	- 4.9	- 4.9	16,424	+ 78.4	+200.8
Texas	2,704,000	- 0.2	+ 3.2	161,025	- 27.2	- 16.0

SOURCE: National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics--1968, 1973, 1976.

Although historically, social theorists have utilized the concept of minority to address questions of social-structural inequalities of racial groups (primarily Blacks), there has been a growing body of literature extending the concept to other groups and aggregates. In recent years, minority research has been extended to include many groups such as the hyphenated Americans (c.f., Italians, Mexicans, Poles, Japanese, etc.) and also such subjects of inequalities as women, senior citizens and youth. In all of these, a conceptual tendency has been to apply the notion of minority status as an important element in understanding the question of inequality. In every case minority status has carried with it some form of differential treatment. Wirth uses such phrases as "differential and unequal treatment...objects of collective discrimination...a corresponding dominant group...exclusion from full participation in the life of the society" (Wirth, 1945:347).

A theme underlying the treatment of rural folk as a minority results from the observation that Rural America is dominated by a larger urban sector and that one consequence of the urban dominance has been for rural folk, or at least some rural folk, to resemble, in effect, a minority. Like other minorities, it can be readily documented that substantial numbers of Rural Americans suffer from problems of opportunity, achievement, attainment, services, and stereotyping when contrasted to comparable urbanites. Perhaps the most evident difference in rural-urban opportunity structure occurs in the nature of the sharply differing economic and occupational structures associated with place of residence. The rural economy

often centers around agricultural production and services which support such production, while the urban economy is, by comparison, extremely diversified with a wider range of goods and services. One difference is that the rural occupational structure is relatively undifferentiated in terms of types of occupations, whereas the urban structure has a substantially larger universe of occupational types, reflecting both a greater diversity and specialization in work roles (Lipset, 1955: Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

At the individual level these varying occupational structures may have negative implications for rural youth in their competition for available jobs. Obviously, if rural youth choose to remain in rural locale, there will be fewer types of jobs that they can realistically consider. The historical trend has been for rural youth to migrate in large numbers to the city seeking jobs. There has been a growing realization that the growth of urban ghettos and slums has been one product of this long-term process. Nevertheless, this suggests that for much of U.S. history, rural youth have perceived the urban area as having a more favorable job market. Migration as a type of social behavior is a disparity factor in and of itself, because it represents a difficult and disruptive prerequisite for rural youth seeking employment, but not for the urban. The rural youth who migrates must learn to cope with what may be a new and strange urban environment at the same time he or she is competing for jobs.

Perhaps the strongest argument for a rural minority lies in a linguistic contrast of slang terms used for rural and urban folk. In contrast to the hinterlands of Europe, the notion of "peasant"

or "peasantry" has never developed as a meaningful concept for Rural America (Foster, 1967). The term "peasant" is generally considered to be derogatory, possibly resulting from ideas developed in association with the democratic and egalitarian society. Instead Newton's (1966) interpretation of linguistic surveys is that Rural America has no peasants, but rather "plain folk". Cultural geographer E. Estyn Evans (1956) believes that some peasant values do exist, but the avoidance of the term "peasant" has resulted in many labels which describe rural life and rural people. The cultural characteristics which are contained in the contrast may be seen as a dichotomy between Urban = Superior, and Rural = Inferior.

An examination of terms used to describe the rural folk indicates not only an inferior or insignificant part of society, but it also indicates a tendency to not take them seriously. This trend is evident in the nature of knowledge that the larger society has about rural folk. Just as other minorities are stereotyped by the larger society, knowledge about rural folk is remarkably stereotypical in nature. Labels generally carry a negative connotation and represent an urban "put down" of rural people in rural life. This is readily evident in the slang terms used to refer to rural folk: "Hicks", "Rednecks", "Plow-boys", "Hillbillies", "Crackers", "Shit-kickers", "Clod-hoppers", and of course, "Good Ol' Boys". This stereotypical knowledge extends into almost every supposed aspect of life in the hinterlands. When "hicks" are not spending their time driving tractors of picking hayseeds out of their hair, they are driving pick-up trucks, chewing tobacco, voting for George Wallace, sending

donations to Billy Graham or Garner Ted Armstrong, coon hunting, square dancing, quilting, corn-husking, swatting flies, whittling, fighting Communism, going to Sunday meetin', or establishing close relationships with their farm animals. For those who feel that the notion of rural-urban differences is simply an artifact of the misguided imagination of a few sociologists, we challenge you to construct a comparable list of stereotypical terms for urban folk. While the above exercise may be a little amusing and perhaps suggests a parlor game, it does highlight the derogatory and stereotypical conceptions that many hold about the rural areas.

The purpose of this paper is not to present a carefully articulated theoretical argument for why rural people may be justifiably called a minority; however, if we briefly consider statements made by Wirth (1945) and Wagley and Harris, (1964) it is not unthinkable that rural folk might qualify for this ignoble status. As discussed earlier, one is hard-pressed to think of a group in American society for whom we have more derogative expressions. In fact, it is difficult to think of any other nonethnic group (or, for that matter, ethnic group) for whom we have such an extensive repertoire of descriptive terms: it may be double jeopardy to be <u>both</u> Black and rural, the negative connotations to both being, perhaps, somewhat interrelated.

Are those we call "rural" (1) subject to differential and unequal treatment?; (2) objects of collective discrimination?; (3) bearing cultural traits held in low esteem? Although oversimplified, the answer is partly found in our list of descriptive terms--"Shit-kicker" and "Plow-boys" seem sufficiently colorful to give some indication of

being categorized as "different". Finally, in very recent years we have begun to see a romanticization of things rural to the point that, to paraphrase Fanon, rather than the "wretched of the earth" we have begun to get the "hip of the earth". But in no uncertain terms, rural as a distinct phenomenon remains, and we suspect it remains largely, in the status of a minority.

Chapter II

CAREER DEVELOPMENT IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

William W. Falk

Introduction

The central issue in this research is the process by which rural youth attain social statuses, in particular, educational and occupational attainments. This process may be considered in two different perspectives. On one hand we may ask how someone comes to attain a status. Such a contention is intentionally mechanistic and is more concerned with the specifics of the process than the larger framework within which this process occurs. This perspective is held by a number of vocational psychologists and, to a lesser degree, by social psychologists who have been concerned with the attitude formation process and the effects of attitudes on behavior. The second perspective also involves the specifics of the process; but rather than as an end itself, it focuses on the process as a means to an end. This perspective is clearly the province of social psychologists who not only analyze the process but also what that process tells us

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about the system of stratification. It is primarily with this latter emphasis that our work has been conducted.

In this chapter the intention is to discuss those aspects of vocational psychology, social psychology, and sociology that emphasize individual achievement processes and social stratification. These perspectives will be shown to have a common bond--developmentalism. Race, sex and rurality will be introduced as social structural constraints associated with inequities in attainment. Race, sex and rurality are essentially characteristics that are fixed at birth (or, in the case of "rural", one may move into it) and, therefore, influence the individual's entire life.

A heuristic model incorporating both attitudinal and behavioral influences on attainment is elaborated as a guide for this research with a set of propositions derived. The remaining chapters are devoted to an empirical assessment of these propositions.

Two Disciplines--One Substantive Problem

Vocational Psychology

Vocational psychologists have devoted considerable attention to the study of "occupational choice". Analysts have been concerned not only with why people choose the occupations they do but also how good the "fit" is between individuals and their choices. Perspectives within this framework have formulated ideas ranging from trait-factor (Katz, 1963; Williamson, 1965), need drive (Zaccaria, 1970; Roe, 1957), psychoanalysis (Bordin, 1943), self-concept (Super, 1957) and personality (Holland, 1959). The work of Super and Holland

has received the greatest attention (Osipow, 1975). While both focus on "self", Holland's view is more sociological in that the emphasis is on congruencies between individuals and their environment. Probably the most unique aspect of the vocational psychology approach is that it is essentially ameliorative--research information developed to assist counselors in helping individuals make informed occupational choices.

Sociology and Social Psychology

Whereas vocational psychology has an ameliorative bent, sociological and social psychological views are more theoretical in intent. Vocational psychology seeks to examine the fit between the individual and an occupation. Sociologists and social psychologists, however, have shown interest in examining not only how social statuses are attained relative to occupations, but also how education and income affect social statuses. Moreover, sociologists began to increasingly focus their attention on the relationship between parents and their offspring to ascertain how much social mobility took place thus enabling offspring to have more or less status than their parents. The examination of this relationship led sociologists to look not only at the amount of mobility which occurred but also at the process by which individuals acquired social status. With this shift came a change in conceptualization which moved away from social mobility and toward the new concept of "status attainment". Carter and Carter (1971:12) have noted that, "Whereas sociologists were once concerned with the amount of intergenerational social mobility

observed, we are now concerned with the social mechanisms affecting the attainment of social status, irrespective of any mobility involved."

Researchers of status attainment, focusing on the process by which people acquire statuses, united their theoretical interest with a methodological refinement in quantitative techniques. They moved away from traditional analyses of social mobility tables to regression analysis. The impetus for this shift and the cause for its sustaining force has been a group of researchers centered at the University of Wisconsin who developed what is now called the "Wisconsin model" (Haller and Portes, 1973) or "status attainment paradigm" (Horan, 1978). In this model, relatively fixed contextual or exogenous variables such as parental socioeconomic status and individual intelligence are posited as influencing the eventual attainment of educational and occupational statuses. These influences, however, are thought to be mediated by intervening social psychological factors such as academic performance, influence of significant others, as well as educational and occupational goals. In short, status attainment research posited the idea that it was untenable for parents to directly transfer their status to their children. Thus status attainment research represents the search for intervening influences between the status of parents and that of their offspring.

Developmentalism as a Common Bond

Students of occupational choice and related phenomena have subscribed to the social maturation notion of "increasing realism" (Ginzberg, et al., 1951). Realism in this sense is meant to convey

the idea that as individuals age and mature, they adjust behaviors according to societal expectations within their ability. Just as the individual discovers that certain "mischevious" behavior tolerated in childhood is no longer tolerated for the adult, so does the discovery that childhood dreams to be a fireman/cowboy/stewardess/actress may not be realizable. The position of social scientists examining the notion of occupational choice suggests that individuals will eventually find an occupation for which they are either well-suited or capable of performing. Thus the occupation chosen is based on realism.

Realism, however, is only one aspect of a more complex and elaborated concern of occupational choice theorists. The more global interest relates to the developmental nature of the process of attaining an occupation or other social status. The concept of developmentalism posits that one does not suddenly embark on an occupational career or other social status, but rather, one's choice is the result of a long period of maturation. Both vocational psychology and status attainment theories have interests relevant to this area which is consistent with Tiedeman's view (1961) which notes that an individual crystallizes a choice, explores what the choice entails and then follows it or discards it in favor of pursuing other choices. This is very apparent in the vocational psychology literature from Ginzberg (1951) (an economist) and Super (1957) until the present. Career counseling, is predicated on the notion of developmentalism. Counseling is possible because an individual makes a series of choices over a period of time rather than a single choice.

Thus counselors may intervene in the process, advising people of the various choices available.

The notion of developmentalism is explicit also in the status attainment literature where it is defined by the phrase "status attainment process". The "process" implies not one finite, free-standing act, but rather, a series of interrelated acts which culminate in some object of interest (e.g. occupational choice). Status attainment researchers posit a flow of events "originating" with inherent ascriptive statuses (or to use Duncan's (1961) term, origin) and proceeds to peer influences, grade achievements in school, attitudes toward various life goals, such as, further education and eventual adult attainments. Again, as in vocational psychology, the key consequence is what one actually does as an adult. There is always the underlying theme of "increasing realism" because of the implicit notion that the process is historically bound and this history parallels one's "growing-up". The individual moves from relative immaturity as a child to relative maturity as an adult. Adult decisions are ostensibly more well-informed and reflect the supposedly mature capacity of a "grown-up".

However, some researchers have questioned the veracity of the increasing realism model pointing to data that suggests remarkably unrealistic aspirations and expectations that are held well into adulthood. Cosby (1974), for example, argues that a dualistic framework better explains observable occupational choice phenomena. He posits that among those groups with reasonably high opportunities of achievement (roughly, the middle and upper class), occupational choices do

serve to operate in a context of increasing realism, directing individuals toward educational and occupational goals in the classical Ginzberg, et al. (1951) model. However, for the disadvantaged, the minorities and others with low attainment chances, occupational and educational choices seem to have little direct bearing on actual goal-directed behavior or attainments. Instead, they provide a psychological crutch, compensating influence for socially-defined failure in a success-oriented society. The worker in a low prestige occupation or the student with little opportunity for high-level attainment can adjust to high societal success values by planning, expecting and projecting success in the future. Past and present setbacks can be reconciled by substituting new future-oriented projections. In this context, realistic choice would be too high a psychological cost for many as well as running counter to widely held cultural values.

Rural as a Contextual Effect

The General Notion of "Contextual Effects"

In classical sociology, the wholistic notions of "collective consciousness" and "millieu" (Durkheim, 1938) emerge as dominant themes. Both suggest that when a plurality of persons are together, a quality may evolve from their togetherness which transcends them individually. This view has historically characterized discussions of the concept "society." Early social scientists were following in the footsteps of the natural sciences where there was a concern with how the parts (elements) constitute the whole. Whether in

sociology or biology, the thesis could be set forth that if one considers the whole object (be it a chair, dog, or society), that object in its wholeness is not necessarily derivable or recognizable when broken-down into its many individual parts. In short, the thesis that "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts" forms the basis for discussing contextual effects.

Using the concept "milieu" Durkheim (1938) maintains that human interaction produces a social reality that stands apart from individuals and in turn influences their behavior. Berger and Luckmann (1967) have stated that "man constructs a reality which then denies him." Again, the thesis is that as social beings interacting with one another, we create an environment which transcends us. While that environment may not be grasped with a pair of calipers, or measured with a yardstick, or in any precise way accounted for, its realness is omnipresent. In fact it is this type of phenomenon that Durkheim had in mind when he defined a "social fact": "A social fact is every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint." (Durkheim 1938:13) Berger and Luckmann believe it is this quality of exteriority and constraint which "denies" us as humans because it is independent of us while acting back upon us. It is important to note here not so much how contextual effects are historically grounded in sociology, but rather, the theoretical reasoning behind their supposed existence--and what they are supposed to be. In summation, contextual effects refer to qualities of situated human interaction which arise as a direct result of that interaction and persist after the interaction

(at one point in time) is completed. When a particular society or environment is viewed as "repressive," no single element of that society formulates the impression. It is rather a composite of units. Upon examination of the concept, "rural," a similar type of phenomenon will be found to emerge. There is no single element to the notion of "rural" and it too is a composite of a great number of units. Thus the meaning of rural is always situated. (Falk & Pinhey, 1978)

Historically, the thought of rural has been conceived in conjunction with such things as agricultural activity, small towns, or provincialism. The term rural seems to have been easier to deal with in Europe which had both peasants and a landed aristocracy. In the United States, a different stratification system evolved which resulted in a different class structure. As early as the mid-1800's Tocqueville discussed the anti-aristocratic milieu in the United States and further described pressures for leveling of attitudes, minimization of divergence and differentiation, and the probable outcome of mediocrity (akin to, although not the same as, Kornhauser's (1959) thesis of "mass society"). In Europe the classic dichotomies of "gemeinschaft-gesellschaft," "folk-modern," and "rural-urban" were more applicable than they were in the U.S. But nonetheless, even where social class lines may be blurred and where the themes of equality and homogenization may be frequently heard, we still find that at the common-sensical level rural is distinguished from non-rural. And we suspect that at this level its meaning gives rise to a unique imagery which, sociologically, may be best described as a contextual effect. Consider Alexander and Eckland's (1974)

statements about school environments and then substitute rural for the expression "student body."

> The abstract wording of 'contextual' or 'compositional' effects might distract us from the basic issue involved: do various aggregate characteristics of a student body have causal relevance for an individual's subjective adaptations and eventual attainments?... At the very least student body composition would seem to set the interaction context within which an individual student must function and develop self-conceptions of his own competence. Thus, aggregate characteristics would appear to have causal relevance in determining the likelihood of acquiring friends with particular traits and in establishing a frame of reference for the operation of various social comparison processes.
>
> (Alexander and Eckland, 1974:24)

This quote has considerable relevance when we contemplate young people growing up in rural areas. Essentially it asks the question: does a rural milieu have causal relevance for what happens to individuals? To rephrase this in light of our substantive problem, does growing up "rural" have some influence on occupational orientations and outcomes? Despite Kornhauser's (1959) thesis of "massification," there is social psychological reasoning for expecting rural folk to be somewhat different.

The general notion of "others" has been used to explain how social actors are influenced by other social actors and may take the form of either significant or generalized indicating that the intensity of influence varies with the type of contact one has with the other. Kuhn (1964) has called this "orientational others", while Woelfel and Haller (1971) have used the terms "modelers" and "definers;" in this latter case the modelers are more generalized and less known

personally where definers exert a direct, unmediated influence.

The relevance of this for rural youth is twofold. First, what general types of people are youth exposed to in rural areas? Second, what affect do these people have? In both cases, at issue is the range of divergent experiences. In industrial society, with a concentration of varied jobs in urban areas, it would seem to be true that rural areas are characterized by less rather than more diversity. Furthermore, this influences both the types and numbers of significant (definers) and generalized (modelers) others. It means that one is less likely to encounter persons of high prestige; at least insofar as rural areas have occupational stratification systems which are less complex. Put differently, those persons who are significant are more likely to be of low rather than high prestige. It also means that the range of occupations encountered will be relatively restricted. In short, there will simply be fewer occupations for one to experience first-hand. As Haller (1968) has discussed this, the expectations which alter has for ego will be tempered by this type of restriction. This lends itself to a cyclical thesis whereby "others" have their experiential base determined in a restricted manner and then, in turn, counsel or influence younger people who come to share or at least are influenced by this restricted world view. Interaction with others is partially responsible with the construction of the context within which one is socialized and matures.

Rural as a Sociological Variable

Bealer, et al.(1965) have reviewed much of the literature on the concept rural and concluded that it has had three dominant uses: ecological, occupational, and sociocultural (primarily, values). The ecological use refers most often to settlement patterns. The main criterion for this areal usage is population density. Generally this includes such groups as farm families who live in the open country, non-farm families in the open country and towns with a population of 2,500 or less. The occupational conceptualization is synonymous with agriculture and agriculturally-related jobs. The farmer's occupation is the principal one of these followed by supportive jobs like farm-hand, farm manager, grain and feed sales, etc.

The last conceptualization is the least precise and in many ways the most stereotypical. The sociocultural conceptualization of rural posits a type of provincialism which implies that persons thought to be rural are equated with being folksy, backward, primitive, traditional and so on. The ideology of traditionalism is germane to this view. Rural people, therefore, are thought to be different from other people because of their distinctive values and behaviors. As illustrated in the previous chapter, there is a long list of pejorative stereotypes about rural folk--most of which imply comical behavior. Upon summation of all stereotypical traits, one finds that there is no particular category which contrasts equally with the value attributable to the word "urban." If one is described as

urbane, it is implied that one is sophisticated, suave, and generally possessive of savior faire. It is a flattering term. In contrast, if one was to be described as rural, the implied imagery might be of folksiness but certainly not an image of sophistication--in short, "clod hopper" not "nation hopper."

The term, rural, is problematic as a sociological variable because it shares with many other sociological concepts in being what we might call "polymorphous." That is, it is no one thing as much as it is a combination of different things at different times and places. As Bealer, et al. (1965) have shown, it may be ecological, occupational or sociocultural in the complex structure of each unit or it may be some combination of them. As Willits and Bealer (1967:177) stated in a later article which attempted to evaluate a composite definition, "the empirical utility...appears questionable (Willits and Bealer, 1967:177). Thus while we are certain of the concept's realness (since people use the term in meaningful, understood ways), it is apparently difficult to demonstrate how useful the concept is for empirical research purpose.

Despite the conceptual ambiguity which seems to surround the concept rural, we find ourselves in the peculiar position of arguing for the "realness" of something which conceptually has proven to be problematic. Perhaps the best solution to this is to paraphrase Dewey (1960) and merely say "rural as real." Our thesis is that its utility lies in contextual situatedness and that it is important to be cognizant of this in the study of occupational choices and attainments.

The use of rural in this report most closely corresponds to the ecological conceptualization. This logically follows from the delineation of study areas based on census data. However, as our discussion in the previous chapter and in the last several pages indicates, we are well aware that the term may often entail more than a strictly ecological bias.

Rural Youth vs. Other Youth-- The Status Attainment Literature

Although the conceptualization of rural is problematic, this is not to suggest that people have avoided using it in research. Our prior discussion about the concept is meant to be cautionary but not paralytic. Researchers use a concept like rural as a primitive term. Therefore, its precise meaning is not problematic because they assume that the reader will generally know to what they are referring (Hotchkiss (1976) has made a similar observation about the concept occupational choice).

Literature that contrasts rural/urban status attainment is more plentiful in some areas but sparce in others. Much has been written on the level of various status-related attitudes for rural and urban youth. Social scientists have had a long history of researching educational and occupational aspirations and expectations (Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970). The purpose of this analysis was almost always to compare rural and urban youth to determine differences in their orientations toward choosing future status objects. Studies cited by Kuvlesky and Reynolds (1970) and Cosby et al. (1973) show that there have indeed been statistical and substantive

differences between rural and urban youth. However, these comparative analyses have primarily focused on statistical means; i.e., the levels of one's attitudes and orientations. If we examine how similar or dissimilar the status attainment process is for these two groups, the literature is comparatively scarce. In fact, only four articles have been published which allow assessments of rural/non-rural processual differences (Sewell and Shah, 1968; Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970; Picou and Carter, 1976; DeBord, Griffin and Clark, 1977).

Race as a Variable in Career Development

The concept of race is very similar to the concept of rural in that it has been utilized in research on status attainment. Researchers have exclusively used rural as an ecological variable to distinguish rural persons from non-rural persons via a place of residence determination thereby approximating an ascriptive characteristic. Race has also been approached ascriptively. In the few cases where racial data have been reported, models have been run separately for Blacks and Whites. The theoretical reasoning is that the status attainment process may be different for the two races thus necessitating separate models.

Comparisons of race-specific models in terms of their theoretical explanations are especially interesting because there is a variation in explanations from the individual/social psychologically centered to a more institutional/structural argument. The former argument has been set forth by Porter (1974) following the logic of Turner

(1964). Turner had suggested that there were two types of social mobility in English society, namely, "contest" and "sponsored". "Contest" mobility implied an open class system wherein the occupants of different prestigious occupations had attained these occupations primarily through their own efforts. Thus the contest analogy: there are a finite number of positions and in a contest-like fashion, some fare better than others, that is, they win the contest. Sponsored mobility takes the form of "who you know" as opposed to "what you know." Subsequently, someone (or some group) helps you to attain a position which in some ways is independent of how well qualified you are.

As Jencks, et al. (1972) have suggested, a truly open class system would take on the appearance of a group of people who are in various positions appearing to be randomly assigned. Consequently, the White doctor's daughter would stand no greater chance of being in a prestige job than the Black garbageman's son. This type of system would be truly representative of an egalitarian society. However, as long as there are structural constraints such as discrimination, the system cannot be an open one. Status attainment modeling helps to estimate how open or closed any stratification system is. Further, it allows for comparisons within a single stratification system.

There are various theoretical explanations as to why the general status attainment model seems to work differently for Blacks and Whites. Porter (1974) suggests that the reason for this is due to Blacks having sponsored mobility. Portes and Wilson (1976) argue that while Porter may be partially correct, the more viable explanation

suggests that Whites are beneficially affected by their academic performance in high school, by significant other influences and also by societal rules which favor them. For example, Whites have been noted to get a better return from schooling performance over a long period of time because the pattern of good grades appears to "carry along" individuals toward predictable levels of achievement (Portes and Wilson, 1976:428-429)." This is especially the case for Blacks who have attended inner-city high schools whose academic quality may not be highly regarded by "institutional administrators." Other analyses of Black-White imbalances have similar conclusions while noting that processual differences are real and can be partially explained by some combination of individual and structural characteristics (Kerckhoff and Campbell, 1977; Hout and Morgan, 1975).

Sex As A Variable in Career Development

Sex, like rural and race, has also been treated as an ascriptive characteristic. Additionally, separate models have been run for men and women, presupposing that they must be separated for analytical purposes. How well warranted the presupposition has been is debatable. Depending on one's source of information, separate models for males and females may or may not be necessary. That they might require separate models at all is predicated on the assumption that the appropriateness of variables will be differentially applicable to them.

The literature in vocational psychology is replete with references to studies that are both theoretical and empirical on male/

female occupational choice and career patterns. Super (1957) suggested that mens' career histories could be characterized by four patterns whereas womens' career histories display seven patterns. Not only may there be more patterns which necessitate different processual models, but there are also female-specific variables which need to be included in the analyses of women. Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) have suggested the potentially detrimental effects of such things as mens' reactions to a career woman, the sex-typing of family roles (males as bread-winners; women as homemakers), the conflict between homemaker and career-woman, and the desired age of marriage versus a prolonged formal education. Psathas (1968) outlined such possible detrimental effects as marital plans, fertility aspirations, family finances (whereby male siblings may get preference for college attendance) and the conflict between being a woman versus a homemaker. Zytowski (1969) delineated three components to vocational participation: (1) age of entry into the labor force; (2) span of participation (career woman versus a pattern of entering and leaving the labor force); (3) degree of participation (essentially womens' jobs versus more male-dominated occupations). As Zytowski notes, any consideration of womens' careers is predicated on considering the effects of such situational phenomena as institutional discrimination.

Status attainment researchers have only recently begun to report findings on the relationship between sex and attainment. In a relatively early study, Sewell and Shah (1967) documented how women received proportionately more influence from initial family origin than did men who received more support from their own abilities

especially in academic performance. The first major study to report on sex effects was by Alexander and Eckland (1974) who provided further support for the findings of Sewell and Shah on how status effects were larger for women, while ability influences were larger for men. It was noted in this study that there was a "direct, unmediated depressant sex effect on actual educational attainment" (Alexander and Eckland, 1974:680). The authors concluded, similar to the vocational psychologists, that researchers needed to consider sex-role specific attitudes such as fertility and marital behavior as well as institutional discrimination. The thesis of differentiation has also been held by more recent researchers such as Spaeth (1977) and Schwarzweller (1976). Spaeth found that while male-female levels of occupational attainment were similar, women were less stable in their occupational expectations.

Only one study has truly focused its attention on rural women. I say "truly focused" because while a very recent study by DeBord et al. (1977) has reported data on rural respondents, their "ruralness" is given attention in the title, "Rural and Small Town Youth" but little reference is made thereafter. In fact, after reading the discussion section of the article one would not know on whom the study had been done. The only study that has actually examined rural males and females has been done by Schwarzweller (1976). Schwarzweller's discussion posits a type of contextual effect conveyed by the amalgam of student-teacher-environmental interactions. The proposal set forth is that the theorized relationship between academic performance and educational ambition is paradoxical in rural high

schools. Because there is an anticipated payoff to scholastic performance, the implied axiom is that doing well scholastically will lead to higher educational and, therefore, higher occupational attainment. Conversely, in rural areas, Schwarzweller observes: "To the extent, then, that scholastic ranking has anything to do with the sorting out of talent for further educational opportunities, rural high schools in America...quite clearly favor girls," (Schwarzweller, 1976:214). The paradox is that despite their superior performance over boys at the high school level, girls are not able to transfer this achievement into educational and occupational success. As Schwarzweller further states, "...it is clearly a social injustice for girls to have somewhat lesser chance (or even just an equal chance of going on to higher education than boys..." (Schwarzweller, 1976:215).

It must be emphasized, at this point, that there is not total agreement on this differentiation. Two studies have concluded that "both the level and the process of occupational attainment are highly similar for men and women." (Treiman and Terrell, 1975:197; McClendon, 1976) However, both Treiman and Terrell as well as McClendon conclude that there is a need to further investigate the <u>effects</u> of such things as entry/re-entry into the labor force, sex-role socialization, and institutional discrimination. These latter comments are especially worth noting because not only are they as speculative as the comments offered by researchers who do find differences but they are suggestive of the same reasoning. In short, even when there appear to be similarities, women still have earnings which are far less than men (Treiman and Terrell, 1975). Additionally,

since roughly 40-50 percent of the variation remains unexplained in most of the research reported, it is clear that other variables and factors are operative. Thus, some of these factors not only may be sex-specific, but also more influential for one sex than for the other. This latter point has also been made by Falk and Cosby (1975) who also have argued that (a) the actual ordering of variables may be problematic across sexes; and (b) that for women there may be greater interaction between marital-familial statuses and career behavior (Falk and Cosby, 1978).

Proposed Model of Career Development

The model that is being tested in this study is illustrated in Figures 1-3 (Chapter I) and 3-1 (Chapter III). The model closely follows the logic of the developmentalists and status attainment researchers. It posits that one's social origins will have direct effects on school tracking and adolescent career preferences and career-related preferences. The social origins of an individual are not represented as a composite SES measure, but, rather as three separable facets of SES: father's education, mother's education, and the occupation of the main income earner in the household. As Rosenbaum (1975) and Alexander and McDill (1976) have recently shown, there is a correspondence between social origins and school tracking. Given the regional and rural character to our sample, we would expect that the caste-like forms caused by tracking based on social origins may be somewhat predictable, whereas adolescent career orientations may be less so. School tracking is a behavioral indicator, as

opposed to career orientations which are attitudinal indicators. The suggestion here is that behavior, itself, will be more predictable than attitudes about behavior. An example of this can be seen when one compares tracking to career orientation. Tracking has little variation having only three channels of direction: academic, general or vocational tracks. Career orientation, on the other hand, has a wide range of options encompassing such choices as laborer and Supreme Court Judge. Behavior can be described as an accomplished act which is grounded in the structural exigencies one faces. Attitudes, on the other hand, including "realistic" ones, are still in a dimension of predisposition toward behavior, and in some cases may be only loosely tied to any notions of ease/difficulty for attainment.

The second phase of our model shows how tracking and career orientation influence early adult behaviors. To demonstrate this, we use one prior behavior and two prior attitudes to predict later behaviors. Our dependent variables, therefore, include the behavioral counterparts to the career-related preferences, that is, educational attainment, residential attainment, marital attainment and fertility behavior. We would expect most substantial influences to occur between related attitudes and behaviors. An example of this would be level of educational aspiration and educational attainment. As mentioned in Chapter I, no measure of early adult occupational behavior was included because the respondents had been out of high school for a relatively short time and also because many of the respondents were still in college and essentially had no occupational attainment to report. Although we posit that an influence from tracking will

affect these early adult behaviors, we anticipate that most of this effect will be transferred by intervening attitudinal variables acting upon the primary effect found in the relationship between tracking and educational attainment. This particular relationship will be a good test for the influence of tracking upon early educational behaviors. In this study, many of the schools in the Deep South were so small that the system of tracking may not have been highly developed. Thus, whether or not one was in a college prep tract may have had little to do with whether or not one actually attended college. However, the reverse effect may also hold true because one's track in high school may, in fact, have been of critical importance for later educational opportunities. For example, being in a college prep track may be a prerequisite for attending college. The magnitude of this relationship, although mediated by intervening variables, will demonstrate just how structured or unstructured educational opportunities are.

One further aspect of the early adult behaviors bears comment. Although much literature exists on the relationship between educational attitudes and educational attainment as shown in any recent status attainment study, there is comparatively little literature on the relationships between marital plans and marital behavior. Furthermore, since there is a cluster of interrelated attitudes and behaviors, it is necessary to examine just how interwoven these seemingly related phenomena are. In terms of attitudinal/behavioral universes, it may be that educational variables stand apart from residential/marital/fertility variables. The point has been raised elsewhere by Falk

and Cosby (1975) that the causal linkages among these variables are tenuous and uncertain. Does one decide on marital plans and then develop educational plans, or vice versa? For the model, we posit these variables as coterminous with no particular attitudinal variable having causal precedence over the others.

The final phase of our model again deals with career preferences and career-related preferences; however, these preferences are assessed at one point in early adulthood. Two primary influences are posited: one from previous and related attitudes and one from previously attained and related behavior. Since all of these "preferences" are viewed as theoretically related, attitudes at one point in time should be good predictors of related attitudes at later points in time. This should be true for two attitudes measured identically at different points in time. These later attitudes should be further explained by the inclusion of other relevant attitudes (also measured earlier). While we are able to assess how alike or dissimilar the attitudinal levels were over time, thus indicating gross level changes in their relative magnitudes, our primary interest is in assessing their relative stability and effects on each other. At issue is the question, if we know one's attitude about something at one point in time, how well might we predict this attitude about this same thing at a later point in time?

The second influence mentioned above deals with the effect of our behavioral measures on "later" attitudes. In this case we say "later" in quotes because the causal ordering of when a particular variable occurs in time is problematic. Do these behaviors occur prior to

these attitudes or did the attitudes influence the behavior? For us this is resolved, both conceptually and hence empirically, by noting that we did not collect data on the 1972 attitudinal information and then six months later collect behavioral information. Rather, it was all collected at once. Consequently, our variables take the form of behavior in which an individual engaged or "attained" as well as corresponding future orientations toward these behaviors (in short, predispositions). The relationship between behaviors and related attitudes, then, is a measure of developmentalism's notion of "increasing realism." It seems plausible that once one has actually begun to engage in the behaviors, attitudes about future states of these behaviors would show evidence of a high degree of consonance. In other words, there would be high correspondence between the attained behavior and the attitude toward envisioned behavior. We might posit that as a life-cycle phenomena, the greater the time out of school, the greater the correspondence between one's future educational orientations and educational attainment; or the longer one has been out of formal schooling the less chance of one returning to schooling. Thus, education and schooling can be seen as life-cycle phenomena which are temporally bound. Their occurence is greatest at the earliest point in the life-cycle and least at a later point.

Occupational behavior, however, is not necessarily this stable. Whereas educational behavior is somewhat restricted in time, occupational behavior is on-going and present throughout most of one's adult life. Additionally, one's occupation may change over time. This quality of occupational behavior means that one may be far less certain about

his/her occupation than his/her future education, which is more critical as an initial career consideration. Furthermore, as Blau and Duncan (1967) have shown in their pioneering work on status attainment, the best predictor of an individual's present occupation may be their most recent/prior occupation.

Derived Theoretical Propositions

As status attainment researchers (Kelley, 1973) and users of path analysis (McPherson and Huang, 1976) have pointed out, one result of path analysis has been to make empirical work in sociology more explicitly theoretical. As one looks at the schematic representation of a path diagram, one is also looking at the elementary theory behind the model. That is, the model's logic is predicated on some meaningful arrangement of its variables. The logic of this arrangement may include such things as temporal ordering (with some events occurring before others), assumed association (some events being correlated in occurence with others), mutual independence and separability, and so on (see Labovitz and Hagedorn, 1975). The model is theoretically grounded then on what is already known about the various states and arrangements of its variables.

In this report, we are interested in four substantive problems as part of our analysis. First, we are interested in sex and race comparisons--do these groupings behave more or less alike? Second, how well does our model work, in a general sense? Do the processes receive support or not? Third, how stable or dynamic are the relationships between variables which have been measured twice? As part of this

analysis, we are especially concerned with the correspondence between two measures of the same variable (e.g., occupational aspirations in 1968 and occupational aspirations in 1972). Four, which is the better predictor of early adult orientations ("preferences"), early adult behavior or adolescent career orientations? It is with these types of questions in mind that our analysis has been conducted.

Chapter III

THE SOUTHERN YOUTH STUDY

John K. Thomas

Introduction

The data for the present research are couched in a series of previous projects that date back to 1958. The first such project was a regional research study entitled, "Factors in the Adjustment of Individuals and Families in Low-Income Farm Areas of the South." Although the study generated descriptive information concerning family conditions in low-income rural areas, it failed to produce information regarding career developmental and decision-making processes of rural South residents. Consequently, a second regional project was proposed in 1966 to examine these processes, specifically, and to identify impinging influences. Incorporating as much as possible the study design of its predecessor, this study was entitled, "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South." Its objectives were: (1) to analyze changes in selected areas of development--occupation, level of living, family structure, functions and resources, social participation and attitudes; and (2) to analyze the relationships of occupational and social aspirations to decision-making, mobility and development of youth

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(Jacobs, 1973). Six southern states, which received funding from the Cooperative State Research Service in the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the individual state Agricultural Experiment Stations, participated in the longitudinal two-wave research effort. The states participating in both the 1966 and 1968 waves were Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Texas; Mississippi took part in 1966 only, while Louisiana joined in 1968. A follow-up to the second project was conducted in 1972 in which all six states became involved. This third project was entitled, "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and Their Patterns of Mobility." Together with the second study, the two projects constituted a three wave, longitudinal research endeavor known as the Southern Youth Study (SYS).

Source of Data

A major criteria in establishing the data base of the SYS was the initial selection in 1966 of high schools in counties designated as rural and economically disadvantaged. Counties in Alabama and Georgia were selected in this regard because of their location to Appalachia, which traditionally has been studied as a high poverty area. In Mississippi, all the counties were ranked on the basis of three factors: (1) a weighted index of education, income and occupation; (2) percent change in population from 1960 to 1963; and (3) percent change in wages paid under the Mississippi Employment Security Commission. Subsequently, one high and low ranking county was randomly selected. The Texas study counties were chosen because they had a high poverty index and were over 30 percent black.[1] In short, a nonprobability or

[1] See C. White (1974) for the most detailed accounting of the sampling procedures instituted by the SYS states.

purposive sampling procedure was characteristic for most of the SYS states, except in the cases of South Carolina and Louisiana.

In South Carolina, a stratified random sample based on size of school and racial predominance criteria was obtained from all the state high schools. This sample resulted in 24 counties being selected. Only one of these counties, however, did not have a substantial rural population. For the purposes of this study, that county (82% urban population) has been omitted.

When Louisiana entered the SYS in 1968, an additional sampling procedure was introduced. The state was divided into four geographical areas, with each area being socioeconomically homogeneous. Subsequently, schools were randomly selected from rural parishes to obtain a racially proportioned sample.

Although different sampling procedures were used, they have resulted, nevertheless, in the selection of high schools and counties that were socioeconomically similar. Thomas (1970) and Lever (1969) presented, for example, figures drawn from the 1960 census, which showed that the SYS counties selected in the 1966 wave had a lower mean family income per year than that for the United States. While their data excluded Louisiana, White (1974) reported racial and rural similarities of the selected parishes in Louisiana to the counties of the other states.[2] In the present study, the sample counties of five of SYS states are included; since Mississippi did not participate in 1968, its counties

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[2]Other reports of county socioeconomic homogeneity are provided by Ohlendorf (1967, 1975) and Falk (1975) for Texas and Cain (1973) for Alabama.

and data have been omitted. A socioeconomic profile of the reduced sample of SYS states and counties is presented in Table 3-1. This profile reflects general population, education, income, and occupation characteristics as they appear in 1970 during the six year period of SYS.

Population

In spite of nine counties having over 50,000 residents, most of the SYS counties have small populations with a high percentage of Blacks and rural residents. For example, about a third of the study counties have populations of less than 20,000. The racial composition of SYS county populations vary with Alabama and Georgia being the most atypical of the study. Six of their eight participating counties have less than a ten percent Black representation. These counties withstanding, 25 of the 47 SYS counties are more than 30 percent Black; eleven of these 25 counties have greater than a 50 percent Black population. Furthermore, when compared with the United States, all of the SYS counties contain a greater percent of rural residents living in areas under 2500 in population. While the United States as a whole is only 26 percent rural, the study counties range from 45 percent to 100 percent rural. More indicative of the rural character of the SYS is that of its 33 counties which have over a 60 percent rural population, 11 counties are completely (100%) rural.

Education

Educational attainment levels are compared also in Table 3-1 among the SYS counties, their respective states, and the United States. All the SYS counties and states are below the national median level of 12.1

TABLE 3-1: SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUTHERN YOUTH STUDY STATES AND COUNTIES

STATE, COUNTY	POPULATION			EDUCATION			INCOME		OCCUPATION	
	1970	Percent Black	Percent Rural[b]	Median	Percent Less than 5 years	Percent College	Median Family	Percent Low Income[c]	Percent Total Employed[d]	Percent Semi & Unskilled[e]
ALABAMA	3,444,165	26.2	41.6	10.8	10.7	7.8	7,263	18.5	34.6	42.4
Cherokee	15,606	8.9	100.0	9.3	11.5	3.8	6,135	20.4	35.7	57.8
DeKalb	41,981	2.0	79.9	9.3	10.4	3.7	5,320	28.6	33.5	51.4
Jackson	39,202	5.0	68.7	9.2	14.9	3.4	6,371	21.4	34.2	50.7
Marshall	54,211	2.0	51.5	10.1	8.4	5.2	6,596	19.8	35.5	44.4
GEORGIA	4,589,575	25.8	39.7	10.8	11.1	9.2	8,165	14.6	38.0	40.8
Dooly	10,404	50.1	100.0	8.9	21.3	4.3	4,967	34.3	33.1	51.1
Early	12,682	45.9	58.5	8.9	23.5	4.3	4,857	31.0	33.5	53.3
Fannin	13,357	1.0	100.0	8.7	14.1	3.5	5,702	22.9	32.3	51.3
Rabun	8,362	1.0	100.0	9.7	10.9	7.2	6,056	21.4	39.4	53.1
LOUISIANA	3,640,489	29.8	33.9	10.8	13.1	9.0	7,527	18.9	31.8	38.9
Avoyelles	22,888	45.4	64.4	8.6	20.4	4.1	4,435	34.6	43.1	42.5
DeSoto	22,764	53.4	71.7	8.9	21.2	6.4	5,074	31.4	28.3	54.6
Evangeline	31,932	27.0	59.4	7.4	29.0	3.3	4,287	38.4	26.3	50.0
Franklin	23,946	35.7	77.7	8.9	19.9	6.8	4,171	39.4	26.4	42.5
Grant	13,671	22.7	100.0	9.6	14.0	4.6	5,328	27.6	26.5	46.7
Livingston	36,511	11.2	81.5	10.5	11.7	4.8	7,651	17.7	30.3	37.6
Plaquemines	25,225	22.9	71.7	9.8	14.6	4.7	8,613	12.2	31.3	43.6
Pointe Coupee	22,002	50.3	82.1	8.2	25.5	3.9	4,956	13.4	25.0	44.1
Richland	21,774	40.6	68.5	8.9	19.8	6.8	4,866	34.9	26.9	47.0
Sabine	18,638	19.7	83.3	9.3	15.6	5.0	5,135	31.8	25.8	47.8
St. James	19,733	47.2	67.1	9.6	15.7	5.6	8,048	16.9	25.2	53.7
Tensus	9,732	59.1	100.0	7.9	27.0	5.8	3,173	47.9	24.5	54.4
West Carroll	13,028	19.0	100.0	9.2	14.7	4.5	4,800	35.6	24.8	41.2
SOUTH CAROLINA	2,590,516	30.4	52.4	10.5	12.1	9.0	7,620	15.8	36.8	46.0
Aiken	91,023	24.0	55.3	11.1	10.6	9.9	8,712	12.0	37.8	41.1
Anderson	105,474	18.0	59.2	10.0	11.6	6.6	8,100	11.7	43.6	51.7
Barnwell	17,176	41.1	59.0	9.5	18.8	6.0	6,997	20.6	38.4	52.2
Berkeley	56,199	30.2	54.9	10.7	12.0	5.0	6,908	20.8	27.0	41.3
Chester	29,811	39.2	67.2	9.4	15.0	6.4	7,409	16.2	39.7	59.0
Chesterfield	33,667	32.9	83.3	9.3	16.5	5.8	6,743	16.6	39.0	53.6

TABLE: (CON'T)

STATE, COUNTY	POPULATION			EDUCATION			INCOME		OCCUPATION	
	1970	Percent Black	Percent Rural[b]	Median	Percent Less than 5 years	Percent College	Median Family	Percent Low Income[c]	Percent Total Employed[d]	Percent Semi Unskilled[e]
Clarendon	25,604	62.0	84.3	8.5	22.3	4.7	4,457	35.2	33.1	56.4
Fairfield	19,999	59.4	82.9	9.0	18.9	7.0	5,788	24.1	35.6	58.6
Georgetown	33,500	48.4	60.4	9.2	20.6	7.2	6,356	22.3	32.9	52.0
Greenwood	49,686	27.8	57.6	10.3	10.3	8.9	8,424	10.3	44.1	51.8
Horry	69,992	24.8	70.5	10.4	12.4	7.2	6,101	21.1	33.3	39.8
Laurens	49,713	28.4	61.6	9.2	17.3	6.7	6,044	11.4	39.8	57.3
Lexington	89,012	12.4	46.7	11.3	6.9	9.4	8,754	10.5	41.3	34.3
McCormick	7,955	60.3	100.0	9.3	16.6	3.8	5,455	26.5	32.9	59.4
Marion	30,270	50.5	55.6	9.5	16.5	6.4	5,725	26.5	35.3	49.7
Marlboro	27,151	43.6	63.2	8.8	19.5	6.1	6,235	22.0	35.0	56.9
Oconee	40,728	9.8	70.0	9.2	12.8	4.3	7,549	13.1	42.9	56.7
Orangeburg	69,789	54.9	81.0	9.9	17.3	9.4	5,943	24.7	35.8	48.6
Pickens	58,956	9.3	61.7	10.1	10.7	10.0	8,114	11.6	41.4	48.8
Spartanburg	173,724	21.0	62.6	10.2	11.3	8.5	7,921	12.2	42.2	49.0
Sumter	79,424	41.6	52.5	10.9	12.9	9.5	6,607	19.9	28.9	46.3
Williamsburg	34,243	60.9	90.0	9.0	20.9	6.7	4,870	32.0	30.9	51.4
York	85,216	24.2	45.0	10.1	11.7	8.0	8,397	11.3	41.5	51.6
TEXAS	11,195,431	12.5	20.2	11.6	9.3	10.9	8,486	13.3	37.0	35.2
Burleson	9,999	28.2	100.0	8.8	15.1	4.6	5,335	28.3	34.7	47.1
Leon	8,738	31.2	100.0	10.1	10.7	6.1	5,131	31.9	30.4	45.9
San Jacinto	6,702	42.1	100.0	8.6	18.9	3.5	4,410	37.6	27.0	46.7
UNITED STATES	203,212,877	11.1	26.5	12.1	5.5	10.7	9,586	10.3	37.7	36.1

Sources: U.S Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-C12, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Texas, Table 122 (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972). Also, County and City Data Book, 1972, Table 2, Items 3,8,10,24,25,27,52, and 58, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

[a] Education reported for persons 25 years of age and older.

[b] Determined by subtracting percent Urban from 100 percent.

[c] Percentage of families having less than $3,000 income.

[d] Percentage calculated by dividing the total number employed who were 16 years of age and older by the total population.

[e] Semi and unskilled occupations include operative, transport equipment operatives, all laborers (including farm), private household workers, and service workers. The percentage is calculated by dividing this number by the total number employed.

years. Most of the study counties, moreover, have lower median levels of educational attainment than their respective states. The SYS county medians range 7.4 to 11.3 years of education. An examination of the percent of persons 25 years of age and older with less than five years of education and those persons with four or more years of college furthur demonstrate low educational attainment levels of the SYS county populations. With a range of roughly 7 to 27 percent, all the counties have a greater percentage of persons with less than five years of education than the corresponding 5.5 percent for the nation. In fact, over half of the study counties report percentages greater than 15 percent. At the other extreme, no SYS county or state, except Texas, has more than the national 10.7 percentage of college educated persons. With 18 counties reporting less than five percent, the SYS counties show a lower range of about three to ten percent.

Income

The SYS counties and states are again below par when compared with the median family income figure of $9,957 for the United States. The medians of the study counties range a low of $3,173 to $8,754. Although only 12 counties have median family incomes below $5,000, the income profile of the SYS counties reflects a more disadvantaged character when the percentage of families with incomes below $3000 are examined. Only one county reports a percentage lower than the national figure of 10.3 percent. Of the remaining SYS counties, 30 counties show more than 20 percent of its family population with less than a $3000 income; 14 of these 30 counties have about 30 percent. In total, 34 of the counties have low income family percentages that are below their corresponding state percentage.

Occupation

The occupational characteristics of the SYS counties and states fall in line with the patterns posited for the other socioeconomic characteristics. That is to say, 33 counties report lower percentages (bases on respective total county populations) of persons 16 years of age who are employed than the 37.7 percent for the United States. The range for all the counties, however, is about 24 to 44 percent. Breaking down the occupations of those persons employed shows a high concentration of semi- and unskilled occupations in the SYS counties. Compared with a national figure of 36.1 percent, all but one county and one state, as a whole, have higher concentrations in these types of occupations. Although the percentages of the counties vary from 34 to 59 percent, 25 counties have disproportionately over half of its employed population in semi- and unskilled occupations.

In summary, the discussed similarities of study counties are not to be construed as a post facto attempt to gloss over differences in the previously addressed sampling procedures. The differences exist, but they also have common ground for the SYS. That common ground is a homogeneous socioeconomic context for interviewing high school adolescents, who generally come from a rural population, which is characterized by a high percentage of Blacks, low educational attainment levels, low family income levels, and a predominance of semi- and unskilled occupations.

Data Collection

Wave I

The first wave of data collection occured in the Spring, 1966,

when respondents were sophomores in high school. After the schools had been selected from rural and socioeconomically "disadvantaged" counties, students were administered questionnaires in a group situation. This method of administering the research instrument involved either interviewing sophomores collectively at one time or interviewing them while they attended classes of a common course (White, 1974). No attempts were made to contact students who were absent the day of the interview.[3] In total, information was collected from 7,972 sophomore students.[4]

Wave II

In 1968, senior students were interviewed in the same selected high schools. The approximate size and number of senior classes are shown in Table 3-2 for the five states which participated in Wave II. Although no senior class had an enrollment above 200, South Carolina did have the largest class sizes averaging 125 students per class in its 38 selected schools. These large classes inflated the average size for all the SYS schools. In spite of the total average of approximately 79 students, half of the schools' senior enrollments had less than 49 students.

Within each of the 96 schools of the SYS, students in a group situation were again administered questionnaires worded similarly to the 1966 schedule. After the group interviews were conducted, students

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[3]Determining the number of sophomore students not contacted was hampered by poor, inaccurate school records (in some cases, no records were made available) and by students with double-statuses (classified as junior but taking sophomore courses).

[4]This figure includes Mississippi's participation and non-White's other than Blacks.

TABLE 3-2: SENIOR CLASS ENROLLMENT DISTRIBUTION FOR SOUTHERN YOUTH STUDY STATES

STATE	NUMBER OF COUNTIES	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS PER SENIOR CLASS SIZE				NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	AVERAGE SIZE
		0-19	20-49	50-79	80+		
ALABAMA	4	1	6	6	4	17[a]	64.2
GEORGIA	4	0	2	2	4	8	74.9
LOUISIANA	13	5	11	2	2	20	36.7
S. CAROLINA	23	2	8	9	19	38[b]	125.3
TEXAS	3	3	9	1	0	13[c]	28.4
TOTAL	47	11	36	20	29	96	78.8
PERCENT		11.5	37.5	20.8	30.2	100.0	

[a]Two schools disbanded (no indication of consolidation).

[b]Four schools omitted because of urban classification of one county.

[c]Eight schools disbanded and two schools lacked complete information.

were matched according to their participation in both waves of the study. The matching process sorted out both new students who had transferred in the interim and original students who failed to be interviewed. Student attrition between 1966 and 1968 was attributed to: (1) out-of-state migration, (2) transferal to a school system that was not part of the SYS sample, (3) school drop-out, and (4) absenteeism the day of the interview.

Wave III

A second follow-up was conducted in the Summer, 1972, in an effort to interview respondents four years after they were expected to have graduated from high school. However, only a sample was drawn from the original pool of students. This sample was necessitated by the anticipated wide dispersement of the respondents after their leaving high school and by limited resources available to the participating states for locating and interviewing these students. Consequently, a decision was made by the SYS Technical Committee to select 250 respondents from the larger pool of students for each state. The panel was to be stratified 50:50 by race (Black:White) and 60:40 by sex (Male:Female).[5] Thus, in each state, 75 Black and 75 White males and 50 Black and 50 White females were randomly selected from the pool of high school students who had participated in the first two waves of the study. Hypothetically, a panel of 1250 persons was possible

[5]The earlier youth study had placed emphasis on the status attainment potentials of males, rather than of both sexes.

with the collective effort (White, 1974).[6]

After determining sample ratios and selecting panel members, an extensive locating endeavor was begun. The starting point was the verification of student addresses obtained in previous wave interviews. From these addresses, parents or relatives were contacted regarding the current address of a particular panel member. Individuals who had remained in-state were personally interviewed. The research instrument which was used had two parts. The first part contained questions chosen from the instruments used in prior waves. These questions, which the respondent completed, related to aspirational and expectational attitudes toward a number of social status issues. The second part of the instrument contained new, additional questions aimed at the current activities and attainments of the respondent. Questions of this nature were presented by field interviewers who then recorded the replies. In a few instances, questionnaires were mailed or telephone interviews were conducted for panel members who had migrated elsewhere. If an individual had left the state of origin but remained within the SYS region, a cooperative effort was made between the research teams of the participating states to administer

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[6] Louisiana and Mississippi were to select respondents from the wave in which they had participated. Although Louisiana had not taken part in 1966, social origin and school tracking information, which had been collected for the other SYS states in 1966, was sought in 1968. Mississippi, sample-wise, had only 234 original participants in 1966. Consequently, when the state later joined the 1972 follow-up effort, its total pool of students was needed to approximate the ideal SYS quota of 250. With the Mississippi sample, the total SYS panel potential was 1484.

the personal interview. The research instrument used in both cases was identical to that used for querying the majority of the panel. However, in mail-out situations a detailed set of instructions accompanied the questionnaire.

The total number of respondents interviewed by the Fall, 1972, was 1052 for five of the six participating states (Mississippi included, 1268). In Table 3-3, a breakdown of the SYS sample sizes is shown for each wave and state. When compared with the intended stratification ratios, the final panel was: by race--42.6 percent Black and 57.4 percent White; by sex--58.0 percent Male and 42.0 percent Female.

Variable Measurement

In Chapter I, the study model was presented and discussed with emphasis on the attitudinal and behavioral processes that influenced career development. The major components of this model are broken down further according to their constituent variables shown in Figure 3-1. Each of these variables are operationalized in the following manner.

Social Origins

RACE (Race of Respondent)

In 1966, respondents were asked, "What is your race?" In addition, a second question was asked, "Are you of Spanish-American Origin? The responses to these two questions were coded: (1) American Indian; (2) Oriental; (3) Negro; (4) Caucasian; and (5) Spanish American. The respondent circled one of these categories. Only Negroes and Caucasians

TABLE 3-3: SAMPLES FOR THREE WAVES OF THE SOUTHERN YOUTH STUDY

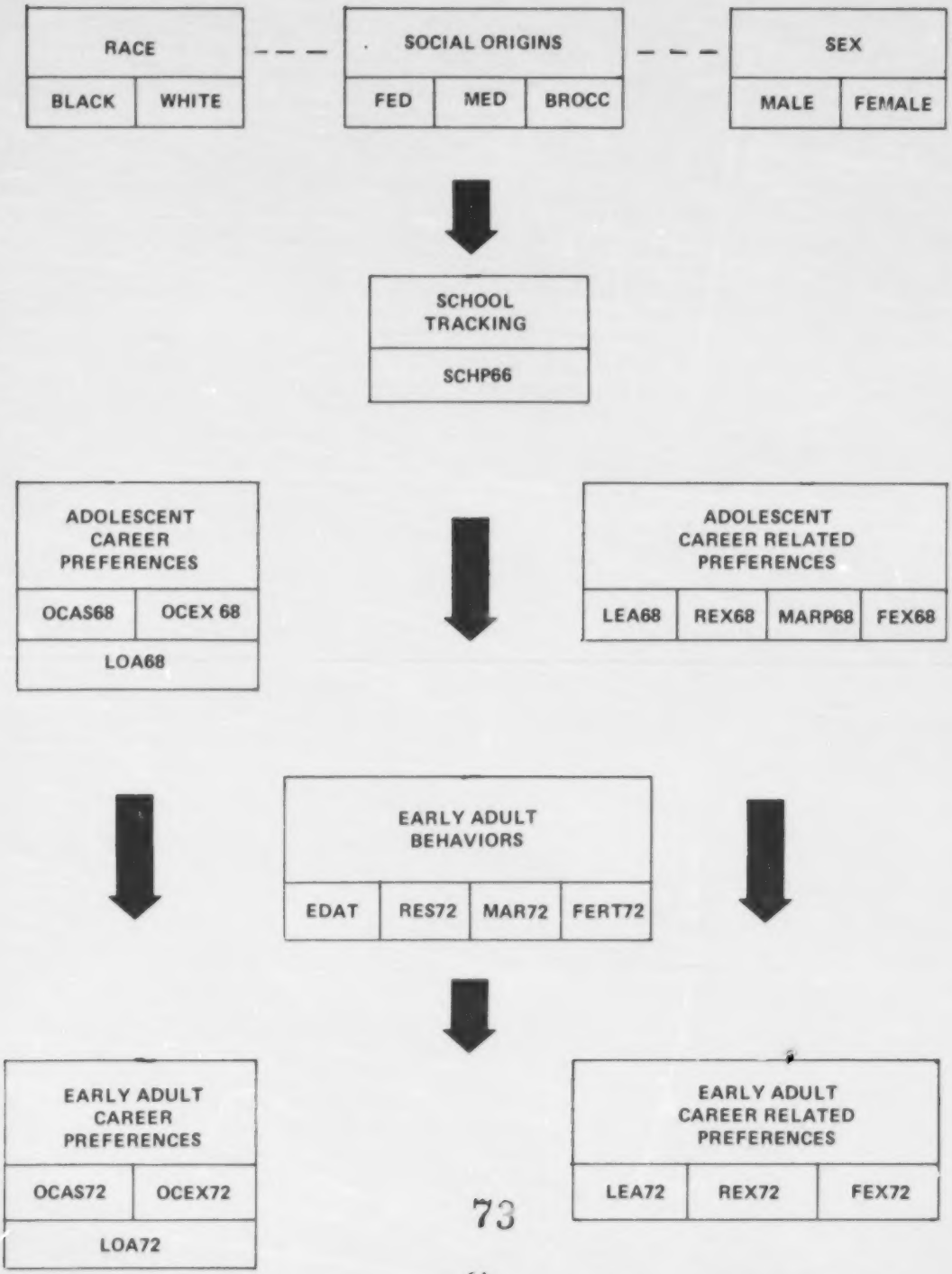
STATE	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	1966	1968	1972	1966	1968	1972	1966	1968	1972	1966	1968	1972
ALABAMA	59	31	16	59	33	23	565	407	75	538	403	51
GEORGIA	109	75	54	128	94	44	188	125	75	208	146	45
LOUISIANA[a]	-	92	55	-	126	50	-	157	75	-	150	50
S. CAROLINA[b]	667	508	49	791	612	35	1622	1403	68	1601	1356	46
TEXAS	98	87	72	99	90	50	145	128	71[c]	133	120	48
TOTAL	933	793	246	1077	955	202	2520	2220	364	2480	2175	240

[a] Louisiana did not participate in 1966

[b] Does not include 1 county that had an 82% urban population (1966, 1968, 1972) and the number of participants for White males and females in 1 county (1966).

[c] Although originally included as Whites, 3 respondents who identified themselves as being Spanish-American and 1 as an American Indian have been omitted.

Figure 3-1. STUDY MODEL AND OPERATIONALIZED



have been selected.

SEX (Sex of the Respondent)

Each panel member indicated their gender on the 1966 survey.

FED (Father's Educational Attainment)

Father's education was determined initially by asking in 1966, "What is the highest school grade completed by your father?" If no response was given, the grade reported by the respondent in 1968 to the same question was coded. The nine fixed education levels were: (1) Did not go to school; (2) Grades 1-7; (3) Eighth grade; (4) Some high school but did not graduate; (5) Graduated from high school; (6) Went to vocational school after graduating from high school; (7) Some college but did not graduate; and (8) College graduate. Whenever discrepancies arose between the educational level reported in 1966 and in 1968, the information in the latter year was coded because of the respondent's increased likelihood of having more accurate knowledge about his or her parents.

The responses were adjusted to correspond with the fixed categories for educational aspirations (EDAS68).

MED (Mother's Educational Attainment)

Mother's education was determined in the same manner as FED. The original eight fixed response categories were recoded to conform to the six categories for EDAS68.

BROCC (Breadwinner's Occupation)

This variable was determined by asking (in Wave 1), "What is the main job held by the major money earner of your home?" The occupational responses were coded according to the Duncan (1961) Socioeconomic Index (SEI). Unemployed breadwinners, and breadwinners who were retired, on social security, and/or welfare were treated similarly to "missing data".

School Tracking

SCHP66 (Respondent's High School Program in 1966)

During the sophomore year of high school, respondents were asked, "What kind of program are you taking in school?" The fixed program responses were: (1) General; (2) Academic or College Prep; (3) Vocational; and (4) Other.

Adolescent Career Preferences

OCAS68 and OCAS72 (Occupational Aspiration, 1968 and 1972)

In 1968 and 1972, respondents were asked, "If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job?" Responses were coded according to Duncan's SEI. In those instances when "Housewife" was stated (always by a female), the response was treated in the same manner as missing data.

OCEX68 and OCEX72 (Occupational Expectation in 1968 and 1972)

Panel members were asked in Waves II and III, "Sometimes we are not able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really

expect to have most of your life?" Responses were handled similarly as OCAS68.

LOA68 and LOA72 (Level of Occupational Aspiration 1968 and 1972)

The OCAS68 and OCEX68 responses of a panel member were averaged to calculate LOA68. This is also the case for LOA72.[7]

Adolescent Career Related Preferences

EDAS68 and EDAS72 (Educational Aspiration in 1968 and 1972)

In 1968 and 1972, panel members were asked, "If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do?" Responses were coded in the six categories listed for FED.

EDEX68 and EDEX72 (Educational Expectation in 1968 and 1972)

In 1968 and 1972, respondents were asked, "What do you really expect to do about your education?" The fixed educational categories corresponded to those for EDAS68.

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[7]If a datum was missing for either component variable, the corresponding race-sex sub-group mean was substituted for that variable. For female respondents who both desire and expect to be a "Housewife", their LOA68 was calculated, from the averaging of substituted of sub-group means of the component variables. However, in those instances of "Housewife" and "Occupation" responses, the "Occupation" became the LOA68. If "Housewife" and "Information Not Available" were the component variable responses, then LOA68 became the average of the substituted sub-group means for the component variables.

LEA68 and LEA72 (Level of Education Aspiration for 1968 and 1972)

The responses of a panel member were averaged for EDAS68 and EDEX72 to calculate LEA68.

REX68 and REX72 (Residential Expectation in 1968 and 1972)

The respondent's residential expectations were obtained by asking, "From the kinds of places listed...What type of place do you really expect to live most of your life?" Responses were coded: (1) in a very large city; (2) in a small city; (3) in a town and village; (4) in the country, but not on a farm; and (5) in the country on a farm.

MARP68 (Marriage Plans in 1968)

Panel members were asked, "At what age would you like to get married?" The expressed age of marriage was directly interpreted as an indicator of marital plans. The amount of marriage deferment was calculated by subtracting the respondent's 1968 age (AGE) from their desired age of marriage. The larger the resulting figure, the longer the deferment. Those respondents "already married" or whose desired marital age was equal to his or her present age had no deferment.

FEX68 (Fertility Expectation in 1968)

Fertility expectation was determined by the question, "How many children do you expect to have?" The actual number was recorded. Persons expecting five or more children were recoded to five. Persons not desiring to marry did not respond; these persons were considered to expect no children.

Early Adult Attainment

EDAT (Educational Attainment in 1972)

Respondents' educational attainments were obtained in 1972 by asking, "What is the highest degree or educational program you have completed?" The original level category responses were changed to correspond to the sex categories for EDAS68. If respondents were currently pursuing a degree or participating in some type of educational program, they were assumed to have achieved the level of education currently being pursued. Further, if respondents reported having attained high school or less education but had participated in the military, they were considered to have participated in a "military training program."

RES72 (Residential Attainment in 1972)

Residential locations for panel members in 1972 were obtained by asking, "Which of the following best describes the place you now live?" The fixed residential choices were the same as those for TEX68.

MAR72 (Marital Status in 1972)

Respondent replied to the question, "If married, when did you get married?" Month and year responses were reported. "Duration" or number of years respondents have been married through 1972 was then calculated.

FERT72 (Fertility in 1972)

Responses to the question, "If married, how many children do you have?" were treated or given. Unmarried panel members did not respond.

Missing Information and Treatment Procedure

The numbers of missing data for the component variables are presented in Tables 3-4 with respect to the SYS status and the racial composition of their panel participants. Of the total number of possible responses for the model, only 4.5 percent of the data was not available or missing. This figure is inflated, however, by a failure to collect school tracking information in South Carolina; missing data for SCHP66 accounted for one percent of the total possible responses for the model and over 23 percent of the possible responses for the variable. Failure to collect SCHP66 information also resulted in South Carolina's accounting for 33 percent of the missing data. This situation not withstanding, the highest percentage of missing data appears for Louisiana (28 percent). Although most of the missing data for Louisiana is attributed to Black respondents, half of the total data missing for all the states is charged to each race. For any given variable of the model, the missing data ranges from 0.3 percent to 10.6 percent; excluding South Carolina, the 23 percent for SCHP66 drops to 4.5 percent. Within this range, only five variables have over five percent missing data.

To determine the handling of these missing data, Thomas, et al., (1977a, 1977b) examined four typically used procedures. Premising their analysis upon an earlier discussion by Hertel (1976), these researchers investigated the different effects resulting from using the procedures of: (1) pair-wise deletion; (2) sub-group mean substitution; (3) a probability distribution function; and (4) a

TABLE 3-4: MODEL VARIABLES AND MISSING INFORMATION BY STATE AND RACE

VARIABLES[a]	ALA		GA		LA		SC		TX		PERCENT OF TOTAL RESPONSES[b] (4.5%)	PERCENT OF VARIABLE RESPONSES[c]
	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W		
SOCIAL ORIGINS												
FED	-	3	13	3	32	14	14	8	18	5	0.4	10.5
MED	2	2	4	2	29	19	3	5	11	1	0.3	7.4
BROCC	3	2	1	1	17	4	3	1	2	1	0.1	3.3
SCHOOL TRACKING												
SCHP66	7	4	9	-	19	2	84	114	5	1	1.0	23.3
ADOLESCENT CAREER PREFERENCES												
LOA68												
OCAS68	5	6	1	4	6	1	3	7	6	2	0.2	3.9
OCEX68	3	24	4	7	20	12	9	11	10	3	0.4	9.8
ADOLESCENT CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES												
LEA68												
EDAS68	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	0.0	0.8
EDEX68	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	0.0	0.6
REX68	-	-	1	-	10	3	5	-	3	2	0.1	2.3
MARP68												
AGE	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	0.3
MARP68	-	2	-	-	4	2	-	2	4	-	0.1	1.3
FEX68	3	9	1	3	4	8	-	4	8	9	0.2	4.7
MSEX68	1	2	1	3	5	1	5	3	4	1	0.1	2.5
EARLY ADULT ATTAINMENT												
EDAT	-	1	2	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	0.0	0.8
RES72	-	1	3	2	2	1	1	5	1	-	0.1	1.5
MAR72	-	-	2	1	4	1	-	3	1	2	0.1	1.3
FERT72	-	-	2	-	3	1	-	3	1	1	0.0	1.0
MILS72	-	3	4	4	6	3	2	3	-	-	0.1	2.4
EARLY ADULT CAREER PREFERENCES												
LOA72												
OCAS72	1	6	1	3	2	-	-	1	-	1	0.1	1.4
OCEX72	1	2	7	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	0.1	2.4
EARLY ADULT CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES												
LEA72												
EDAS72	-	2	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	0.0	0.7
EDEX72	2	6	3	1	3	4	1	1	-	-	0.1	2.0
REX72	2	12	3	0	2	1	1	6	-	-	0.1	2.6
FEX72	2	29	8	19	5	23	5	13	4	4	0.4	10.6
PERCENT MISSING[d] (100.2%)	3.3	11.5	6.9	5.7	17.8	10.3	13.9	19.2	8.1	3.5		

[a] Since "retirement or welfare support" and "housewife" were legitimate responses, respectively, for BROCC and the occupational attitude questions, these data are not included as "missing information". They were operationalized as such in several instances.

[b] There are 24 variables and a panel size of 1,052. Missing data percentages are calculated by dividing the total number of missing data for a given variable by (24 x 1,052). The percentages represent the "no information" part of the total number of possible responses given by all panel members. Percentages have been rounded to nearest tens decimal.

[c] There are 1,052 possible responses for any given variable. Percentages are calculated from that base.

[d] There are a total of 1,023 missing data. Percentages are calculated from that base.

random normal routine. Basing their study on White female data drawn from the SYS panel, they initially identified a target data set in which complete information was available for a model of eight attitudinal and related behavioral variables (several of which have been operationalized in the present study). From this target data set they randomly generated two sub-sets with five and ten percent missing data for each variable. Their analyses proceeded to determine differences between descriptive (means and standard deviations), associative (Pearson product moment correlation) and causal (unstandardized and standardized path regression) coefficients of each sub-set when a missing data procedure was applied and the corresponding coefficients of the target data.[8]

Although Thomas and his associates failed to significantly support the superiority of any one procedure, they did demonstrate several patterns. Generally, all the procedures, except that of pair-wise deletion, produced conservative (lower) estimates of target data statistics and coefficients. Further, as the amount of missing data increased, the more conservative the estimates became. In relation to this increased production of lower estimates, was also the increased likelihood of committing type I or type II errors, depending on the direction of shifts in probability magnitudes for unstandardized path coefficients; this was particularly the case for the latter two procedures.

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[8] Thomas, et al. (1977b) used standardized path regression coefficients as described by Hotchkiss (1976). These coefficients permitted comparison both across variables and across sample sub-groups.

Based on such patterns, the procedure of substituting sub-group means is selected to provide alternative values whenever variable data are missing. In other words, this procedure tended to reap the least amount of distortion in reproducing target data coefficients in the Thomas, et al. study. In addition, because of generally low amounts of missing data for most of the variables in the current study model, substitution of race-sex sub-group means, which are unbiased estimates, are expected to result in a minimal proportional reduction in variance.[9]

Analytic Techniques

Analyses of the data are conducted along two dimensions. The first dimension involves level analyses in which comparisons are made indicating the relative magnitude of variable levels across study groups. The second dimension concerns process analyses. Comparisons based on process analyses contrast the relative effects of the model variables for each race-sex grouping to determine which factors have the greater importance or contribution to career development. Elaboration of each dimension follows.

Level Analyses

General level analyses initially incorporate a descriptive comparison of frequencies, means, and standard deviations of race-sex groups for each variable as it appears in the flow of the study model.

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[9] Race-sex sub-group means were rounded to the nearest whole number prior to their insertion for missing data. The rounding prevented the generation of an addition, non-code category, particularly for discrete data.

The interest here is in race-sex differences of social origins, adolescent career and career related preferences, and so forth. Secondary level analyses employ analysis of variance (ANOVA) as described by Steele and Torrie (1960) and Kerlinger (1964). Specifically, a 2 X 2 factorial design is used for each variable to detect differences that may be attributed to race, sex, or a race-sex interaction. Level comparisons are conducted in Chapter IV.

Process Analyses

The primary statistical technique to be utilized in this research is path analysis (Wright, 1934, 1960; Duncan, 1966; Land, 1969; Namboodiri, Carter and Blalock, 1975). This technique, which is a form of multivariate analysis based on regression procedures, is intended to assess efficiency and plausibility of a posited causal system of interrelated variables. Path analysis includes procedures aimed at estimating the total "causal effect" of each of the independent and intervening variables in the system of variables on the specified dependent variable. Put differently, the technique attempts to identify the amount of variation in endogenous variables that can be directly associated with one unit change in one or more of the "determining" variables, while other variables are held constant. The technique also encompasses estimates of the total effect of the entire system of variables and of the effects exerted by unmeasured variables on each of the endogenous variables.

Path analysis is characterized by several advantages over more traditional approaches to social science research. The utilization of the path technique compels the researcher to be explicit and precise

in the formulation of "causal" relationships as well as pointing to many of the underlying assumptions on which the analysis is being conducted. Duncan, (1966), discussed this advantage:

> The great merit of the path scheme, then, is that it makes the assumptions explicit and tends to force the discussion to be at least internally consistent, so that mutually incompatible assumptions are not introduced surreptitiously into different parts of an argument extended over scores of pages.

Another important feature of path analysis is that it allows the researcher to decompose the zero-order correlations between two variables into direct and indirect or mediating effects (Land, 1969; Finney, 1972; Alwin and Hauser, 1975). This aspect allows for the estimation of the degree to which an intervening variable transmits or mediates the influence between an independent and dependent variable.

There are also two recent advances in path analysis methodology that facilitate the present research. Since the model involves the analysis of two wave, repeated measurement data (for example, adolescent and early adult career and career-related preferences), Heise's (1970) work on lagged and cross-lagged influences serve as a source for this analysis. Also, the study involves the comparison of the career decision model across sex and race groups. Recent essays by Schoenberg (1972) and Specht and Warren (1976) have presented discussions of path analytic comparison strategies which serve as guides for that phase of the analysis.

Although causal validity of a model is not specifically tested by path analysis, it can be supported on theoretical and substantive grounds. The path analytic technique does allow one to evaluate the plausibility of a theoretical formulation by revealing empirical

inadequacies and contradictions. Thus, the technique provides a powerful method of analyzing causal inferences which forces consideration of the ambiguities now existent in the conceptualizations of social scientists.

Summary

In review, this chapter has set the methodological context for the Southern Youth Study (SYS) and for the present research effort regarding career and career-related attitudes and achievements. Evolving from two prior youth oriented projects, the SYS has been identified as a three wave, longitudinal study of a panel of Black and White youth from six deep South states. However, the current panel is drawn from five of the six participating states: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Texas (Mississippi was excluded). The socioeconomic profile of selected counties from these states has established the general population of the counties as rural, heavily concentrated with Blacks, having a low level of family incomes, and having a high percentage of semi- and unskilled jobs. Panel members were interviewed initially as sophomores (1966) in purposely selected high schools; two follow-up interviews were conducted in 1968 and 1972. Subsequently in the discussion, the study model was presented in view of the operationalized variables and their missing information. The procedure adopted for handling the missing data was the substitution of race-sex sub-group means. This procedure was especially attractive given the generally low levels of missing data (ranging from less than one percent to above 11 percent),

its simplicity of implementing, and its production of unbiased estimates. Finally, attention was focused on analytic techniques. The analytic techniques were presented with regard to level analyses and process analyses conducted on the data.

Chapter IV

CAREER ATTITUDES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

John K. Thomas
William W. Falk

Introduction

This first phase of the analysis was concerned with comparisons of career preferences. These comparisons were organized around attitudinal distinctions that were made between idealistic and realistic dimensions of general status orientations. That is we were interested in sex and race comparisons of what youth wanted to achieve and what they expected to achieve. These dimensions have been conceptualized as "aspirations" and "expectations" (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966; Rehberg, 1967), and as distinct phenomena, they have been differentiated empirically in well over sixty studies (Cosby, et al., 1973). While both dimensions are future oriented, aspirational attitudes are essentially positive--an expression of wanting or desiring. Expectational attitudes, on the other hand, can be either negative or positive since they are thought to be grounded in the perceived extensity and intensity of resources and opportunity. In short, the conceptual distinction is of value since it recognizes that an individual's desired attainments need not coincide with anticipated attainments (Thomas and Cosby, 1974).

In addition to the above bi-dimensional components of status orientations, a uni-dimensional measure which approximates the "Occupational Aspiration Scale" (Haller and Miller, 1972, Woelfel and Haller, 1971 and Haller, et al., 1974) was developed. Essentially,

the Haller and Miller construct presupposes an attiudinal "band" that brackets the domain of a status attitude in terms of idealistic-realistic goal feasibility and as such provides an alternative approach for empirically accessing the impact of attitudes on career development.[1]

In the context of the study model, career preferences play several roles in the process of career development. First, they are contingent in part on the familial or social origins of the individual. Second, they mediate familial influences while also effecting future status achievements. Achievements, in turn, produce either new preferences or status attitudes, or reinforce prior ones. In later chapters, these varied roles are examined.

In the SYS data, career preferences of Black and White males and females were described by level comparisons among frequencies, means, standard deviations, and variances. In addition, similar comparisons were made concerning social origins, school programs and status achievements. The focus of these comparisons has more of an interpretive quality than a reliance on statistics.

Social Origins

A general starting point for studying social mobility and status attainment dynamics has been the family of origin both as an influence on the formation of career attitudes of offspring and as an economic

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[1]The Haller and Miller (1971) measure of level of occupational aspirations (LOA) was predicated on four dimensions: idealistic expression, realistic expression, short and long term goal expectations. These dimensions were operationalized with eight questions. In the present measure of LOA, only idealistic and realistic questions were used (Chapter 3).

resource agent for facilitating potential achievements. Comparative efforts concerning status attitudinal formation have generally focused on race and class differences associated with divergent socialization (childbearing) practices (Goldstein, 1967; Wendling and Elliott, 1968; Brim, 1956; Porter, 1974; and Sandis, 1970), familial organization (Duncan and Duncan, 1969; Rosen, 1969; Ellis and Lane, 1963; Krauss, 1964; St. John, 1972; and Westoff, et al., 1963) and parental socio-economic characteristics (Sewell and Shah, 1968; Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970; Lueptow, 1975; Carter and Picou, 1975; and Cosby and Picou, 1975). The literature, however, has not always agreed on the results of these comparisons. For example, Duncan, et al. (1972; Carter and Picou, 1975; and Duncan, 1968), reported that the level of father's education has more influence than mother's education on son's educational attainment. In contrast, Kandel and Lesser (1969) and others (Bell, 1964-64; Ellis and Lane, 1963) report a stronger influence for mother on adolescent aspirations and expectations, while Alexander, et al. (1975) found no association between parent's education and progeny's educational attainment. Additional discrepancies in research findings appear with Brodie (1968) and Brookover, et al. (1967) having demonstrated familial social class as a strong predictor of children's success patterns. In contrast, Antonovsky and Lerner (1959) and Kelly (1962) report considerably weaker effects.

Such differences in research findings withstanding, several observations can be made regarding social origins, particularly for the South. Given the historical backdrop of a White-dominated agrarian plantation society, Blacks generally have not fared well economically,

politically, or educationally. Readings of Myrdal's An American Dilemma (1944), Dollard's Caste and Class in a Small Southern Town (1973), or Parsons and Clarks' (eds.) The Negro American (1965) illustrate what has been called the "Black man's burden" (Silberman, 1964). Of such magnitude is this "burden" that in spite of civil rights and educational legislation, social inequities persist between the races in terms of occupational (Ferman, et al., 1968), residential (Pettigrew, 1975) and income differentials (Briggs, 1975).

In the SYS data, indication of these disparities is provided in Table 4-1 by sharp differences in parental education and occupation levels. First, Whites (both males and females) had parents whose educational levels were substantially above those for Blacks. The greatest between-group contrast was for fathers' education. Among Whites, the average level of fathers' education was completion of high school. However, for Blacks the mean levels were indicative of less than high school. Racial contrast was strongest for post-high school education. Based on percentages, over three times as many White as Black fathers had at least a junior college education.

The races were likewise significantly different regarding mothers' education. Although the levels were similar in the achievement of high school education, greater percentages of White mothers had higher levels of educational attainment.

Given these findings for parental education, there was little surprise in discovering major differences in occupational levels between White and Black parents. The general outcome was that breadwinner's socioeconomic status was higher among Whites than Blacks. Specifically,

typical White parents had such occupations (mean Duncan SEI = 33 and 35 for males and females, respectively) as pipefitter, T.V. repairmen, service station manager, farm manager, retail clerk, dietician, and so on--roughly speaking, high school educated craftsmen and operatives. Blacks, to the contrary, were more likely to be in such occupations (mean Duncan SEI = 19 and 17 for males and females, respectively) as farmer, carpenter, auto mechanic, worker in a paper mill, steel mill, textile mill, waitress, practical nurse, domestic, etc. This comparison suggests that for Whites, the parent might have been the manager of a service station; for Blacks, the parent might have been an auto mechanic; or for Whites, the parent might have managed a restaurant; for Blacks, the parent might have been a waitress. In sum, White parents were more likely to have authoritative positions and Black parents were more likely to have been in positions in which Whites supervised them.

The details of the breadwinner's occupation were such that further comment may be useful. By examining the distribution of occupational SEI scores, over 60 scores were needed (out of a possible total of 96) for White males and females. For Black parents, however, less than 41 scores were needed. This difference was an indication of a much more complex and elongated occupational prestige system for White parents. Greater diversity suggested a heterogeneous system for Whites and a comparatively homogeneous system for Blacks. This was further illustrated by noting that the six most frequent occupational scores for Blacks included about 70 percent of all Black breadwinners. When the same six occupational scores were examined for Whites, 30 to 35 percent were in this group.

School Tracking

Integration of southern high schools in the deep South did not begin until the late 1960's, roughly fifteen years after the Supreme Court decision regarding Brown versus The Board of Education. Consequently, Whites and Blacks in the SYS were largely enrolled in biracially segregated school systems. These students, furthermore, participated in schools which were predominately rural and small (Chapter III) and, as a result, were restricted in diversification of curriculum. Although data was limited in the SYS for such a determination, many students attended schools, given their small enrollments, that could not support more than one type of educational program. Images of the "little red school house" aside, this does not suggest the expectation of constrained educational opportunity potentials.

The educational tracks for both Whites and Blacks are reported in Table 4-1. The heaviest participations of both races and sexes was in general school programs. Close examination shows that although over seventy percent of the White females and 45 percent of the White males and Black females were in such programs, only 34 percent of the Black males were enrolled in a general program. Further, while White female participation was lowest in academic and vocational programs, Black males were equally represented in academic programs with the other subgroups. However, Black males were much more likely to be tracked into vocational programs, where their percentage was from two to three times that of others.

TABLE 4-1: ANALYSIS OF LEVELS FOR SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SCHOOL TRACKING

LEVEL COMPARISONS[a]	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO
Descriptive Statistics												
FED	1.32	.85	1.00	1.32	.88	1.00	1.99	1.34	1.00	2.11	1.41	1.00
MED	1.78	1.16	1.00	1.61	1.16	1.00	2.04	1.25	1.00	1.96	1.12	2.00[b]
BROCC	19.35	14.62	19.00	16.67	13.63	17.00	32.78	21.97	14.00	35.28	22.63	14.00
SCHP66	1.70	.68	2.00	1.98	.60	2.00	2.06	.60	2.00	2.07	.56	2.00

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	RACE			SEX			RACE*SEX		
	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB
FED	95.95	1	<.01*	.69	1	> .40	.59	1	> .44
MED	16.68	1	<.01*	2.90	1	> .08	.42	1	> .51
BROCC	174.33	1	<.01*	.01	1	> .93	4.57	1	<.05*
SCHP66	33.88	1	<.01*	13.94	1	<.01*	12.76	1	<.01*

[a] Mean ($\bar{X}$), standard deviation (SD), and mode (MO).

[b] White females had 40% FED with less than high school education and 41% with a high school education.

TABLE 4-1 (continued)

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SCHOOL PROGRAM	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
FATHER'S EDUCATION								
Less than H.S.	203	82.5	170	84.2	187	51.4	113	47.1
High School	27	11.0	16	7.9	98	26.9	70	29.2
Voc. Training	4	1.6	5	2.5	13	3.6	5	2.1
Junior College	5	2.0	5	2.5	28	7.7	22	9.2
B.A. Degree	7	2.8	6	2.9	38	10.4	30	12.5
Prof. Degree	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	246	99.9	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.1
MOTHER'S EDUCATION								
Less than H.S.	138	56.1	137	67.8	153	42.0	97	40.4
High School	66	26.8	43	21.3	133	36.5	100	41.7
Voc. Training	15	6.1	3	1.5	21	5.8	12	5.0
Junior College	11	4.5	2	1.0	24	6.6	17	7.1
B.A. Degree	16	6.5	17	8.4	33	9.1	14	5.8
Prof. Degree	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	246	100.0	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.0
BREADWINNER'S OCCUPATION								
Unemp.[a]	1	0.4	2	1.0	--	--	1	0.4
1-15	109	44.3	109	54.0	122	33.5	68	28.3
16-30	105	42.6	72	35.6	65	17.9	40	16.7
31-45	13	5.3	7	3.5	76	20.9	47	19.6
46-60	9	3.7	5	2.5	49	13.5	45	18.7
61-75	8	3.3	7	3.5	33	9.1	26	10.8
76-90	1	0.4	--	--	14	3.8	12	5.0
91+	--	--	--	--	5	1.4	1	0.4
Total	246	100.0	202	100.1	364	100.1	240	99.9
SCHOOL PROGRAM								
Vocational	74	30.1	30	14.8	44	12.1	24	10.0
General	83	33.7	95	47.0	188	51.6	179	74.6
Academic	89	36.2	77	38.1	132	36.3	37	15.4
Total	246	100.0	202	99.9	364	100.0	240	100.0

[a]Unemployed

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Adolescent Career Preferences

To this point, our discussion has focused on what can be considered structural or contextual influences on adolescent attitude formation. Attention has been directed toward a traditionally rural, segregated Southern society in which Blacks have been at a disadvantage. From this historical point, the social origins of White and Black youth were examined as well as the school programs in which they participated. In addition, the career preferences of these youth will be examined with the assumption that these preferences were influenced by contextual sources.

The aspirational and expectational components of White and Black occupational career preferences are presented in Table 4-2. Whites, on the average, desired or aspired to slightly higher status occupations (OCAS68) than Blacks; the Duncan SEI averages ranged from a low of about 51 (for Black males) to a high of approximately 59 (for White females). As with their parental occupations, White choices were less clustered than the aspirations of Blacks. For example, White choices were dispersed over sixty scores while those choices of Blacks were limited to about forty SEI scores (not indicated in tables). The highest proportion of low occupational status choices were made by Black males. Over 28 percent of these males compared to less than 15 percent of any other subgroup desired occupations with low SEI scores (SEI 1 to 30). These patterns will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

Of further interest was the preference patterns for women. First,

TABLE 4-2: ANALYSIS OF LEVELS FOR ADOLESCENT CAREER PREFERENCES

LEVEL COMPARISONS	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO
Descriptive Statistics												
OCAS68	50.58	24.53	19.00	53.97	18.47	46.00	57.88	23.83	62.00	57.60	18.97	61.00
OCEX68	42.80	24.86	43.00	52.03	19.03	61.00	52.28	25.91	52.00	54.24	18.31	97.00
LOA68	47.11	23.20	19.00	52.57	16.94	61.00	54.94	22.82	62.00	56.24	17.12	61.00

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	RACE			SEX			RACE*SEX		
	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB
OCAS68	18.54	1	<.01*	.58	1	> .44	.92	1	> .33
OCEX68	16.98	1	<.01*	15.55	1	<.01*	6.77	1	<.01*
LOA68	19.39	1	<.01*	6.73	1	<.01*	2.54	1	> .11

[a]The calculation of female means for both races did not include housewives. The respective means, however, were used when treating "housewife" responses as missing data and in the conduction of analyses of variance

TABLE 4-2 (continued)

ADOLESCENT CAREER PREFERENCE	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
OCAS68								
1-15	16	6.5	2	1.0	16	4.4	1	0.4
16-30	53	21.5	29	14.4	46	12.6	29	12.1
31-45	35	14.2	21	10.4	49	13.5	17	7.1
46-60	46	18.6	55	27.2	65	17.9	39	16.3
61-75	49	19.9	81	40.1	83	22.8	119	49.6
76-90	29	11.8	7	3.5	71	19.5	20	8.3
91+	18	7.4	7	3.5	34	9.3	9	3.8
HW[a]	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	2.5
Total	246	99.9	202	100.1	364	100.0	240	100.1
OCEX68								
1-15	39	15.9	4	2.0	37	10.2	8	3.3
16-30	53	21.6	32	15.8	56	15.4	12	5.0
31-45	67	27.2	16	7.9	41	11.3	20	8.3
46-60	15	6.1	47	23.3	79	21.7	35	14.6
61-75	43	17.5	87	43.1	64	17.6	91	37.9
76-90	19	7.7	7	3.5	63	17.3	4	1.7
91+	10	4.1	3	1.5	24	6.6	1	0.4
HW[a]	--	--	6	3.0	--	--	69	28.8
Total	246	100.1	202	100.0	364	100.1	240	100.0
LOA68								
1-15	16	6.5	1	0.5	12	3.3	3	1.3
16-30	58	23.6	23	11.4	57	15.7	22	9.2
31-45	41	16.7	27	13.4	56	15.4	28	11.7
46-60	55	22.4	69	34.2	74	20.3	50	20.8
61-75	40	16.3	73	36.1	86	23.6	118	49.2
76-90	26	10.6	6	3.0	58	15.9	18	7.5
91+	10	4.1	3	1.5	21	5.8	1	0.4
Total	246	100.2	202	100.1	364	100.0	240	100.1

[a]Housewife is denoted by "HW".

as Tully, et al. (1974) have shown, of those women in the labor force, a large percentage fell into a very few occupational titles. SYS data detected a similar pattern for aspirations. Among occupations such as beautician, secretary, school teacher, and nurse, 60 percent of the White females and 56 percent of the Black females had traditional preferences. It was also noted that few women desired to be "housewife." Secondly, women's aspirations were, in general, as high as men's. The male bias of the Duncan SEI scheme not withstanding, women in the aggregate had an aspirational frame that was similar enough to that of men that they aspired to roughly equivalent status levels.[2]

Aspiration levels are more meaningful when compared with occupational expectation levels. As anticipated, while choices for Whites were still above the occupational choices of Blacks, both races and sexes reported expectation levels lower than aspirations. The greatest mean decrease was for Black males. Again, the lowest levels expressed were by Black males; over 65 percent expected occupations equal to or

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[2]The appropriateness of Duncan SEI scores (or any prestige scale for that matter) has been questioned regarding its application as a measure of the occupational status of women (Bose, 1973; Heyns and Gray, 1973). The concern for this question is substantiated by the SEI's being operationally premised upon male socioeconomic characteristics. However, Parnes, et al., (1970) states that male Duncan scores are well predicted by the education and income levels of females incumbent to the same occupations. Treiman and Terrell (1975) concluded that occupations explicitly identified as women's work are evaluated in the same manner as less traditional female occupations, or male occupations. They continued by asserting when two versions of an occupational title with different sexual referents (for example, waiter and waitress) are considered in the same rating task, both tend to be rated in the same way. Others, likewise, have provided evidence for a single occupational status hierarchy for the sexes (Nam, et al., 1975 and McClendon, 1976).

less than an SEI score of 45. From a value stance, this may be interpreted positively or negatively. Positively, this low expectation level suggests that the Black males were "realistically" responding in light of probable accomplishment. Thus these low levels reflect some consonance between what they expected and what might actually be realized. Negatively, this low level may indicate the debilitating effects of discrimination and a generally poor prognostication for the future--in short, the antithesis of "great expectations," a resignation to accept one's lot in life.

Again, it was insightful to examine in detail the responses for females. For the same categories as before (for example, secretary, teacher), over 60 percent of Black females had traditional occupational expectations; only six expected "housewife." For Whites, however, over three-fourths of the women expected these titles. When compared with Black women, almost 30 percent of all White females anticipated becoming "housewives." Apparently, as early as the senior year, females were indicating that they would probably follow a traditional pattern, which has a career preference portrait where the whole occupational gamut is condensed into a very few options. One may say that these women evinced a career choice myopia. Their focus was <u>not</u> on the broad range of occupations but rather on those few occupations wherein large numbers of women already reside. Given this finding, there is strong suggestion of a completeness with which traditional sex-role socialization is carried out and/or the degree to which these young women perceived a sex-restricted range of attainable occupations.

Adolescent Career Related Preferences

Associated with occupational choices were other preferences which influence career development. In Table 4-3, Whites and Blacks reported these preferences for education, residence, marriage deferment and fertility during their senior year of high school. Educationally, all subgroups had a mean aspiration level for a junior college degree. However, closer examination indicated that this was misleading, since relatively few Whites or Blacks actually state that "to graduate from a two year college" was their goal. In fact, their most prevalent choices were to attend a vocational or business school, to graduate from a four-year college or university, and for graduate education. Three-fourths of the Black males and over 80 percent of all other groups were within these three choices. Furthermore, over 50 percent aspired to graduate from either college or graduate school.

Recall that at the expectation level desires were tempered and brought in line with probable attainment. And, indeed, they adjusted their educational goals downward as they had their occupational choices. This adjustment, however, was slight. Whites and Blacks modally expected to graduate from high school, a vocational or business school, or a four-year college or university. In fact, between 42 percent (White males) and 52 percent (Black males) fall into the first two levels. Nevertheless, between 35 and 50 percent of each group <u>expected</u> to either graduate from college or graduate school.

While there are some race and sex differences in educational aspirations and expectations, two findings stand out. First, the vast

TABLE 4-3: ANALYSIS OF LEVELS FOR ADOLESCENT CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES

LEVEL COMPARISONS	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO
Descriptive Statistics												
EDAS68	4.30	1.45	6.00	4.46	1.37	6.00	4.48	1.39	6.00	4.22	1.34	3.00
EDEX68	3.80	1.38	3.00	3.94	1.33	3.00	4.00	1.37	5.00	3.58	1.31	5.00
LEA68	4.17	1.33	3.00	4.32	1.29	3.00	4.38	1.35	5.00	4.09	1.28	3.00
REX68	2.24	1.26	1.00	1.98	1.11	1.00	2.90	1.28	2.00	2.74	1.14	2.00
MARP68	6.54	2.24	8.00	5.13	2.50	5.00	5.53	2.46	-[a]	3.29	2.26	4.00
FEX68	3.12	1.34	4.00	2.80	1.30	2.00	2.74	1.24	2.00	3.03	1.13	3.00

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	RACE			SEX			RACE*SEX		
	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB
EDAS68	.10	1	> .75	.30	1	> .58	5.62	1	< .05
EDEX68	.95	1	> .32	2.80	1	> .09	10.98	1	< .01*
LEA68	.02	1	> .89	.84	1	> .35	6.90	1	< .01*
REX68	84.72	1	< .01*	7.59	1	< .01*	.48	1	> .49
MARP68	90.69	1	< .01*	148.13	1	< .01*	7.71	1	< .01*
FEX68	.80	1	> .37	.05	1	> .81	14.63	1	< .01*

[a]MARP68 is bi-modal for White-males; modal responses are 5.00 and 8.00

TABLE 4-3 (continued)

ADOLESCENT EDUCATIONAL CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
EDAS68								
Less than H.S.	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	0.6	1	0.4
High School	29	11.8	13	6.4	30	8.2	21	8.8
Voc. Training	65	26.4	54	26.7	90	24.7	75	31.3
Junior College	25	10.2	22	10.9	23	6.3	19	7.9
B.A. Degree	52	21.1	48	23.8	107	29.4	74	30.8
Prof. Degree	74	30.1	64	31.7	112	30.8	50	20.8
Total	246	100.1	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.0
EDEX68								
Less than H.S.	--	--	1	0.5	1	0.3	1	0.4
High School	51	20.7	25	12.4	69	19.0	63	26.3
Voc. Training	77	31.3	72	35.6	85	23.4	71	29.6
Junior College	20	8.1	23	11.4	25	6.9	18	7.5
B.A. Degree	66	26.8	49	24.3	142	39.0	76	31.7
Prof. Degree	32	13.0	32	15.8	42	11.5	11	4.6
Total	246	99.9	202	100.0	364	100.1	240	100.1
LEA68								
Less than H.S.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
High School	23	9.4	12	5.9	31	8.5	21	8.8
Voc. Training	72	29.3	60	29.7	96	26.4	80	33.3
Junior College	48	19.5	31	15.3	38	10.4	38	15.8
B.A. Degree	45	18.3	50	24.8	101	27.7	59	24.6
Prof. Degree	58	23.6	49	24.3	98	26.9	42	17.5
Total	246	100.1	202	100.0	364	99.9	240	100.0

TABLE 4-3 (continued)

OTHER ADOLESCENT CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
REX68								
Large City	92	37.4	88	43.6	52	14.3	26	10.8
Small City	69	28.1	66	32.7	119	32.7	99	41.3
Town/Villiage	32	13.0	14	6.9	51	14.0	44	18.3
Country-N/F[a]	39	15.9	32	15.8	99	27.2	54	22.5
Country-F	14	5.7	2	1.0	43	11.8	17	7.1
Total	246	100.1	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.0
MARP68								
0	5	2.0	8	4.0	13	3.6	32	13.3
1-2	8	3.3	26	12.9	26	7.1	59	24.6
3-4	30	12.2	42	20.8	90	24.7	92	38.3
5-6	55	22.4	64	31.7	94	25.8	31	12.9
7-8	106	43.1	43	21.3	97	26.6	22	9.2
9+	42	17.1	19	9.4	44	12.1	4	1.7
Total	246	100.1	202	100.1	364	99.9	240	100.0
FEX68								
0	15	6.1	13	6.4	26	7.1	8	3.3
1	7	2.8	10	5.0	10	2.7	3	1.3
2	57	23.2	69	34.2	124	34.1	68	28.3
3	60	24.4	41	20.3	105	28.8	81	33.8
4	69	28.1	51	25.2	69	19.0	55	22.9
5+	38	15.4	18	8.9	30	8.2	25	10.4
Total	246	100.0	202	100.0	364	99.9	240	100.0

[a]Non-farm residence in the country is represented by "N/F", farm residence by "F".

majority of each group not only aspired but expected to continue their education after completion of high school. Second, not only did they anticipate continuing their education, but many expected this continuation to result in college attainment. These two findings were particularly interesting if one recalls that most of these young people attended schools which were small in size, limited in facilities, or programs offered; and they attended during the mid-to-late 1960's when many rural schools (and urban ones as well) had no clear college preparatory programs, no designated academic counselors, little information on vocational programs, and possibly eclectic and poorly organized information available to the student for attending college. In essence, these findings suggest either in part a wide-spread educational "achievement syndrome" for post-high school education (Rosen, 1956) or coupled with high occupational status desires, a common societal "success theme" (Merton, 1968 and Williams, 1963).

For other career related preferences presented in Table 4-3, all subgroups differed in their orientations. Regarding residential expectations, each subgroup had higher proportions of persons anticipating living in a city or urban setting than elsewhere. Roughly 50 percent of the Whites chose to live there as compared to over 65 percent of the Blacks. Black women had the greatest inclination with 76 percent expecting urban residence. In general, women showed a greater preference for urban residence than men and Blacks a greater preference than Whites.

Each of the subgroups differed again but with respect to anticipated length of marital postponement. Blacks and males planned to defer getting married longer than Whites and women. Black males, who

had an average postponement of 6.5 years, showed the greatest resistance with 60 percent expecting to defer longer than seven years. At the other extreme, 76 percent of the White women expected to marry within four years of high school graduation or about 22 years of age. This finding was consistent with earlier data on large proportions of White females who expected to become housewives.

In relation to marital plans, the students were asked about the number of children they expected. All anticipated an average of three children. Nevertheless, the subgroups did differ according to those persons who expected four or more children. Ironically, although Black males expected to put off marriage longer than any other subgroup, 43 percent wanted more than four children. With the distribution of their years of marital deferment, those males were in effect expecting to procreate a family in their mid-to-late twenties. Compared to the other subgroups, White men and Black women expected slightly smaller families.

Early Adult Behavior

Historically, for Blacks, education has been perceived as a mechanism for upward social mobility. In fact for many Blacks, status was achieved not only by attending college but by choosing education as one's career. The deep South is replete with "Black colleges," unlike most Northern or Western states, and since the late 1800's these have been avenues of escape from rural poverty for many individuals. Not only have their students been predominately Black but also their teaching and administrative staffs. As Warner (1957) showed

in his classic discussion of stratification pyramids, the top of the pyramid for Blacks was far below that for Whites. For Black students attending predominantly Black colleges, one sees the aspirants for success being schooled by those who are already successful. Ralph Ellison's "Dr. Bledsoe," although disturbing, is a perfect case in point.

In 1972, the SYS participants had been out of high school for four years. Although it is too early to learn much about their occupational behavior, their educational behavior should have been either in progress or terminated. When educational attainment is examined in Table 4-4, race and sex differences are found. Over 48 percent of all females completed their education with high school graduation. This is compared to 25 percent of the White males and 36 percent of the Black males. Nearly twice as many males attended vocational or business schools. Not only does a sex difference appear in high school and vocational school completion, there was a clear race difference in college graduation. Approximately one out of four Whites graduated from college but only one out of six Blacks had similar educational achievements.

These early attainment figures give some indication of possible sex role socialization, and peer perceived opportunity structure, etc. As noted above, males were more likely to acquire post-high school education. But even within the male group there was a sharp contrast--a much greater proportion of Blacks attended vocational school rather than college. Assuming a linear relationship between years of education and one's first occupation, it seemed likely that White males'

TABLE 4-4: ANALYSIS OF LEVELS FOR EARLY ADULT BEHAVIORS

LEVEL COMPARISONS	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO
Descriptive Statistics												
EDAT	2.95	1.04	3.00	2.86	1.26	2.00	3.49	1.28	3.00	3.08	1.36	2.00
RES72	2.45	1.31	1.00	2.41	1.31	1.00	2.98	1.22	2.00	2.72	1.15	2.00
MAR72	0.86	1.38	0.00	1.24	1.70	0.00	1.17	1.47	0.00	2.25	1.79	0.00
FERT72	0.39	0.75	0.00	0.52	0.78	0.00	0.26	0.54	0.00	0.45	0.63	0.00

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	RACE			SEX			RACE*SEX		
	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB
EDAT	23.39	1	<.01*	10.30	1	<.01*	4.23	1	<.05*
RES72	28.70	1	<.01*	3.32	1	>.06	1.85	1	>.17
MAR72	44.03	1	<.01*	54.36	1	<.01*	12.13	1	<.01*
FERT72	5.66	1	<.05*	14.50	1	<.01*	.50	1	>.47

eventual status attainment would far exceed Blacks. In the deep South, this has an important implication. It suggests that the social origin data cited earlier for SYS participants' parents will change little in the present generation. Instead, the present generation will apparently perpetuate past social origin characteristics between Blacks and Whites. This could transpire even though Blacks could attain higher educational levels than in the past. Why? Because at the same time that rural Blacks were attaining more than their parents, so, too, were the Whites. Thus their rate of "catching up" was not sufficient to yield parity. At a general level of comparison, Black males have attained an educational mean level roughly 1.6 times higher than their fathers; for Whites the corresponding increase was 1.5.

In addition to educational attainment, the respondent reported other status behavior (Table 4-4) for residence, marriage and fertility (childbearing). In 1972, Black males and females tended to be more homogeneous in early residential patterns. As indicated by prior preferences for residence, Blacks and females expected to have urban residence when they were high school seniors. Four years later, both Black sexes had 56 percent living in the city, while 25 percent resided in the country. Although both White sexes avoided residence in large cities, a greater percentage of the females were residing in urban or small town settings. On the other hand, White males more than any other subgroup retained residence in the country. Of the 34 percent with rural residence, 44 percent were on farms. This was compared to 30 percent of the group of White males who preferred country residence in 1968. The implications of these patterns will be discussed later

when post behavioral attitudes concerning residence are examined.

Both races and sexes differed in their marital statuses. Generally, Whites and females had been married longer than Blacks and males. While only 26 percent of White females were still single, over 38 percent had marriages three or more years old; no other subgroup had more than 18 percent who were married this length of time. As suggested by their 1968 marital expectations, many White females actualized their expected marriages within two years of high school graduation. In contrast, Black males postponed marriage longer than others. More than 63 percent had remained single. In accordance with their previous marital expectations, Black females and White males reported similar patterns. That is, they averaged less than fourteen months of marriage and over fifty percent of each subgroup were yet to marry.

In relation to their marital status, the race-sex subgroups were still young regarding family procreation. Over half of these young adults between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years of age were single and averaged less than one child per person. In spite of this low rate of childbearing, the subgroups differed. A greater percentage of Blacks (11%) than Whites (5%) had two or more children. Furthermore, greater proportions of females (37%) than males (about 25%) had progeny. If this finding is examined with the aggregate percentage for length of marriage, White females, who marry sooner, did not appear to have more children.

Early Adult Career Preferences

When 1972 occupational orientations are examined in Table 4-5, it

TABLE 4-5: ANALYSIS OF LEVELS FOR EARLY ADULT CAREER PREFERENCES

LEVEL COMPARISONS	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO
Descriptive Statistics												
OCAS72	49.78	24.20	15.00	52.45	18.29	61.00	55.46	24.46	14.00	59.10	18.09	72.00
OCEX72	37.89	25.59	19.00	44.17	20.84	61.00	47.88	25.51	14.00	54.38	18.31	97.00
LOA72	43.87	22.04	19.00	48.55	16.64	61.00	51.87	22.29	-[a]	56.64	16.43	-[b]

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	RACE			SEX			RACE*SEX		
	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB
OCAS72	19.96	1	<.01*	5.20	1	<.05*	0.12	1	> .72
OCEX72	49.77	1	<.01*	19.72	1	<.01*	0.00	1	> .96
LOA72	40.56	1	<.01*	13.99	1	<.01*	0.00	1	> .97

[a]LOA72 is tri-modal for White-males; the modal responses are the Duncan SEI scores of 14, 62, and 72.

[b]LOA72 is bi-modal for White-females; the modal responses are the Duncan SEI scores of 61 and 72.

TABLE 4-5 (continued)

ADOLESCENT CAREER PREFERENCE	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
OCAS72								
1-15	26	10.6	4	2.0	36	9.9	2	0.8
16-30	36	14.6	29	14.4	35	9.6	20	8.3
31-45	49	19.9	23	11.4	45	12.4	11	4.6
46-60	39	15.9	44	21.8	61	16.8	58	24.2
61-75	50	20.3	86	42.6	91	25.0	106	44.2
76-90	32	13.0	11	5.4	70	19.2	20	8.3
91+	14	5.7	3	1.5	26	7.1	10	4.2
HW[a]	--	--	2	1.0	--	--	13	5.4
Total	246	100.0	202	100.1	364	100.0	240	100.0
OCEX72								
1-15	53	21.5	17	8.4	51	14.0	7	2.9
16-30	68	27.6	38	18.8	57	15.7	17	7.1
31-45	40	16.3	44	21.8	58	15.9	13	5.4
46-60	23	9.4	26	12.9	55	15.1	27	11.3
61-75	36	14.6	60	29.7	78	21.4	96	40.0
76-90	16	6.5	6	3.0	50	13.7	4	1.7
91+	10	4.1	--	--	15	4.1	--	--
HW[a]	--	--	11	5.5	--	--	76	31.7
Total	246	100.0	202	100.1	364	99.9	240	100.1
LOA72								
1-15	20	8.1	2	1.0	23	6.3	2	0.8
16-30	55	22.4	29	14.4	53	14.6	19	7.9
31-45	72	29.3	52	25.7	64	17.6	22	9.2
46-60	38	15.4	54	26.7	81	22.3	75	31.3
61-75	38	15.4	57	28.2	85	23.4	105	43.8
76-90	15	6.1	8	4.0	42	11.5	15	6.3
91+	8	3.3	--	--	16	4.4	2	0.8
Total	246	100.0	202	100.0	364	100.1	240	100.1

[a]Housewife is denoted by "HW".

must be recalled that at this time the SYS participants had been out of high school for four years. Ginzberg, et al., (1951) and others (Super, 1957; and Osipow, 1968), have theorized that with maturation, status plans will become more realistic. And yet, the 1972 occupational aspirations shown in Table 4-5 were similar to corresponding attitudes in 1968; Black males and females and White males had only a slight reduction in levels and White females revealed a slight increase. Relative to the realism thesis, this suggests that individuals (in the aggregate) either maintain earlier aspirations (that is, the same goal over time) or maintain the same general prestige level. This latter possibility is important because it was possible (in fact, probable) they were oriented toward general prestige levels as well as specific occupations within those levels. Thus one may aspire to be a doctor but failing at that, one may change his/her goal to lawyer or professor or some other vocation which can be labeled generally a "profession." To reiterate, the important point is that an individual stays "tracked" at a certain level. Despite the possibly poor prospects of attaining one's desired goal, the general desire remains. Apparently, being four years older and having left late adolescence for early adulthood does little to diminish general occupational wishes.

An examination of occupational expectations in 1972 provided greater support for the realism thesis. Whites (both males and females) had substantially higher expectations than Blacks. This was especially interesting since White familial socioeconomic backgrounds were also higher than Blacks. Although there may not be a direct transfer from families to offspring, it did seem that children who were from families

of comparatively high socioeconomic status developed and maintained higher SES orientations.

Some support for the realism thesis emerges from an aggregate comparison of occupational expectations for 1968 and 1972. In general, for all groups, 1972 expectations were lower than 1968 expectations. Whites continued to have higher expectations than Blacks for both sexes. The greatest difference was for Black males; their 1972 mean expectations were nearly twelve Duncan scores lower than their aspirations. Taken by itself, this suggests that young adult, Black males were beginning to orient future plans to a level at which they may be realizable. While a divergence was anticipated between aspirations and expectations, the large gap for Black males strongly suggested an attempt to align attitudes with prospective outcomes. It is difficult, of course, to determine why they showed such a large decrease. But whether the reasons were lack of necessary skills, perceived or institutional discrimination, it seemed evident that this particular attitudinal dimension was rooted in a "potential" for reasonable outcome as opposed to the aspirational dimension, which in some ways approximated an adherence to high and improbable success goals.

Early Adult Career Related Preferences

Analysis of the 1972 educational aspirational offers support for such sociological notions as "massification" and reiterates the widespread subscription to a "success" thesis (Merton, 1968; and Williams, 1963). In Table 4-6 there was remarkably little difference between males and females, or Blacks and Whites on this dimension. Every group

TABLE 4-6: ANALYSIS OF LEVELS FOR EARLY ADULT CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES

LEVEL COMPARISONS	BLACK						WHITE					
	MALE			FEMALE			MALE			FEMALE		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO	$\bar{X}$	SD	MO
Descriptive Statistics												
EDAS72	4.81	1.36	6.00	4.76	1.29	6.00	4.87	1.33	6.00	4.65	1.33	6.00
ECEX72	3.97	1.32	3.00	3.89	1.41	3.00	4.12	1.41	3.00	3.70	1.56	2.00
LEA72	4.56	1.24	6.00	4.48	1.23	6.00	4.67	1.27	6.00	4.36	1.28	3.00
REX72	2.42	1.30	1.00	2.29	1.13	1.00	3.12	1.27	4.00	2.89	1.14	2.00
FEX72	2.56	1.11	2.00	2.26	1.05	2.00	2.13	0.88	2.00	2.14	0.84	2.00

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	RACE			SEX			RACE*SEX		
	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB	F-TEST	df	PROB
EDAS72	.08	1	>.78	2.77	1	>.09	1.00	1	>.31
EDEX72	.06	1	>.81	7.48	1	<.01*	3.39	1	>.06
LEA72	.00	1	>.94	5.91	1	<.05*	2.34	1	>.12
REX72	71.59	1	<.01*	5.46	1	<.15	.40	1	>.52
FEX72	20.21	1	<.01*	5.74	1	<.05*	6.66	1	<.01*

TABLE 4-6 (continued)

ADOLESCENT EDUCATIONAL CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
EDAS72								
Less than H.S.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
High School	8	3.3	3	1.5	13	3.6	7	2.9
Voc. Training	64	26.0	55	27.2	86	23.6	70	29.2
Junior College	13	5.3	15	7.4	10	2.7	17	7.1
B.A. Degree	42	17.1	44	21.8	80	22.0	52	21.7
Prof. Degree	119	48.4	85	42.1	175	48.1	94	39.2
Total	246	100.1	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.1
EDEX72								
Less than H.S.	--	--	2	1.0	2	0.5	2	0.8
High School	18	7.3	25	12.4	45	12.4	70	29.2
Voc. Training	112	45.5	83	41.1	118	32.4	66	27.5
Junior College	25	10.2	16	7.9	19	5.2	11	4.6
B.A. Degree	41	16.7	35	17.3	104	28.6	41	17.1
Prof. Degree	50	20.3	41	20.3	76	20.9	50	20.8
Total	246	100.0	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.0
LEA72								
Less than H.S.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
High School	6	2.4	3	1.5	8	2.2	8	3.3
Voc. Training	65	26.4	58	28.7	92	25.3	76	31.7
Junior College	36	14.6	39	19.3	50	13.7	46	19.2
B.A. Degree	64	26.0	42	20.8	75	20.6	42	17.5
Prof. Degree	75	30.5	60	29.7	139	38.2	68	28.3
Total	246	99.9	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.0

TABLE 4-6 (continued)

OTHER ADOLESCENT CAREER RELATED PREFERENCES	BLACK				WHITE			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
REX72								
Large City	81	32.9	63	31.2	43	11.8	24	10.0
Small City	63	25.6	61	30.2	86	23.6	78	32.5
Town/Village	36	14.6	37	18.3	76	20.9	58	24.2
Country-N/F[a]	50	20.3	39	19.3	102	28.0	60	25.0
Country-F	16	6.5	2	1.0	57	15.7	20	8.3
Total	246	99.9	202	100.0	364	100.0	240	100.0
FEX72								
0	11	4.5	13	6.4	19	5.2	8	3.3
1	17	6.9	18	8.9	27	7.4	23	9.6
2	99	40.2	104	51.5	236	64.8	153	63.8
3	72	29.3	41	20.3	54	14.8	42	17.5
4	35	14.2	22	10.9	24	6.6	10	4.2
5+	12	4.9	4	2.0	4	1.1	4	1.7
Total	246	100.0	202	100.0	364	99.9	240	100.1

[a]Non-farm residence in the country is represented by "N/F", farm residence by "F".

had mean aspirations of attaining a college degree. Thus in 1972, four years after anticipated completion of high school, they still maintained a goal for college. With some license for interpretation, this indicated the strength of education values (even those from disadvantaged, rural homes in the deep South). While the Horatio Alger myth will be a pipe-dream for most of us, apparently, these youth may continue to "dream the impossible dream."

The contrast between educational aspirations and expectations was evident. Substantively, the goal of some post-high school education was again found. In fact, approximately 90 percent of all males expected some post-high school education. For females, there was more variation. Whereas 86 percent of the Black females expected some post-high school education, only 69 percent of the White females anticipated this. This last finding requires explanation, especially in view of early educational attainment.

When educational attainment was discussed, it was noted that White females had experienced high attainment. However, when comparing mean levels for White females, there is very little difference between their educational attainment in 1972 and their educational expectations in 1972. For Black females, however, their mean educational expectations in 1972 were substantially higher than attainment. This suggests at least two explanations. First, Black females may be anticipating future enrollment in educational programs; thus their present (1972) attainment levels may reflect only temporary achievements, hence too low in light of possible and probable future attainment. Second, Black females may be hanging onto educational expectations which are

unrealistically high. The support for this is somewhat compelling given their lower educational attainment--four years after high school, 73 percent of them had either graduated from high school (52 percent) or finished a post-high school vocational-technical program (21 percent).

Elaborating on the second explanation, this example was a case where individuals continue to subscribe to some goal despite realistic obstacles. It may be that there was a psychological satisfaction in stating expected attainment. At an individual level, such adherence may aid individuals in maintaining their location in society by continuing to support a value thought to be important in American society. As Illich (1972) has said regarding education in American society, "One attains grace by acquiring years of education." At a more social psychological level, the expressed interest of individuals to acquire more education may give status with their peers. That is, it may have been important: (1) that those around them feel that they will continue their education; or (2) that by their expression to do so, and their assenting to it, individuals were reassured that their peers thought they were in fact capable of accomplishing their goal. This kind of support is often heard when individuals reflect on their lives and make statements such as, "I could have been an accountant" or "an archeologist" or "a plumber". When in the company of peers, their supportive statements will often be, "Sure, you could've" or "Yea, I know what you mean, I could have been ...", and so on. Numerous examples of this type of post hoc "disclaimer" (Stokes & Hewitt, 1976) are found in Studs Terkel's books on work in America where people recount their successes and failure (Terkel, 1974).

When 1972 residential expectations were considered, a rather clear dichotomy was found. Whites generally expected to reside in towns or villages, whereas Blacks expected to live in small cities. Specifically, about 60 percent of the Blacks expected to live in either large or small cities compared to around 40 percent of the Whites. The percentages of those individuals expecting to live in towns or villages and in the country (both farm and non-farm) were reversed for both races.

The racial difference in residential expectation was not surprising. In addition to the same preferences in 1968 and current residence in 1972, it reflects the trend over the past one hundred years where Blacks reared in the rural deep South and not perceiving local opportunities (again, recall the area's history of traditionalism and race relations) migrated out of rural areas in search of a better life in the city. Although Whites have also left rural areas in large numbers during this time, their rate of out-migration has never equaled or exceeded Blacks.[3]

Moreover, this general finding on residential expectations offered further support for the possibility in the deep South of urban areas becoming increasingly populated by Blacks while rural areas were becoming increasingly White. This clearly manifests itself in the school age population figures for such cities as Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston, Dallas and Memphis. Another indication is both Atlanta and

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[3]Recent analyses cite preferences and return migration, albeit slight, to rural areas. However, most of the return migration is White, many of whom did not have initial rural origins (Beale, 1972 and 1974; Fuguitt and Zuiches, 1975 and Hansen, 1973).

New Orleans presently have Black mayors which may be a result of: (1) the prevalence of Black voters and/or (2) the general acceptability of Blacks for these potentially powerful positions. Although one also hears of Black mayors and/or sheriffs in rural areas, it is in the large cities where their visibility and perhaps, influence, may be greatest.

Likewise, fertility expectations in 1972 are presented in Table 4-6. Race and sex differences prevail with over three-fourths of all Whites expected two or fewer children, compared to 56 percent of the Black females and 51 percent of Black males. The major contrast was between Black males and all other groups. Not only was their statistical mean higher, but they had 48 percent expecting three or more children. This compared to 22 percent of the Whites.

It is difficult to explain this sharp contrast; however two possible explanations are offered. First, the Black males in the SYS were from large families (data available, but not presented here). Thus the expectation of having several of their own children seemed plausible. Second, despite a general decrease in both desired and attained family size in recent years in the U.S., Blacks in general continue to have families larger than Whites.[4]

[4] Whether out of desire, lack of knowledge about birth control, these deep South Black males may be more realistic by recognizing their prospects of fathering more than two children.

Conclusion

The guiding concepts throughout this chapter have been "aspiration" and "expectation." In the career development model posted in earlier chapters these concepts were operationalized relative to various attitudinal status orientations during two periods of late adolescence and early adulthood for SYS participants. Additionally, they were interpreted within the career development process that incorporates structural influences of social origin and school tracking. Once formed, these attitudes were thought both to mediate the effects of prior structural variables and to directly influence corresponding status behaviors and post-behavioral status attitudes.

The conclusions drawn from a descriptive analysis of the variables in the career development model have depended upon level comparisons made among four race-sex groups. The findings generally document social disparities which have existed historically between Blacks and Whites, as well as between males and females, maintaining themselves in spite of contemporary gains made by these race-sex groups. For social origins, although parental socioeconomic status is low for all subgroups, Blacks had lower familial statuses than Whites. Moreover, the major source of socioeconomic status appeared to be maternal; whereas, it was paternal among Whites. When school tracking programs were examined, all subgroups participated primarily in general programs. Black males, however, had equally strong participation in vocational high school tracks.

Comparisons of career status preferences in 1968 (senior year of high school) and 1972 resulted in subgroup differences. While all

subgroups experienced negative deflection (aspirations > expectations), Blacks experienced more deflection and more restriction of choices than Whites for occupations both as adolescents and young adults. Between sexes, females maintained career choices for traditional female occupational titles. However, among women, White females had greater preferences for becoming "housewives" than Black females.

While all subgroups desired and expected college level attainment for both time periods, slight racial differences in attitudinal-behavior deflections were observed by race. Blacks showed a greater gap than Whites between 1972 attainment and post-attainment attitudes for education. By sex, females had less educational attainment than males; approximately 50 percent have stopped, if not briefly postponed, their education upon high school graduation.

For other career preferences, Blacks maintained preferences for urban residence, while Whites prefered small town and/or rural residences. These preferences conformed generally to past trends of Black migration out of the South and out of the country. While both sexes also prefered some type of city living, a greater percentage of males expected to live in the country; White males particularly showed this preference both as seniors and young adults. All subgroups indicated similarity between these preference patterns and actual residential behavior.

For marital expectations and attainment, White males and Black females were found to be similar. However, Black males and White females exhibited opposite patterns. Black males expected to defer marriage longer than any subgroups. In 1972, they had the greatest

percentage (63%) of single individuals. Conversely, White females expected the shortest period of marital postponement. An examination of their marital status revealed that by 1972, 76 percent of these women compared to less than fifty percent for any other subgroup were married.

With regard to fertility orientations all subgroups reported decreases from a mean expectation of three children in 1968 to two children in 1972. Blacks generally anticipated more children than Whites. Both as adolescents and young adults, Black males expected the most children in spite of their anticipated long marital deferment. On the other hand, a greater percentage of White females actually had children by 1972.

Chapter V

THE CONSEQUENCES OF ADOLESCENT ATTITUDES FOR EARLY ADULT BEHAVIOR

Frank M. Howell

Introduction

The relationship between career-linked attitudes held by adolescents during their years of schooling and their later socioeconomic and life attainments has been central to the literatures on achievement in American society (Falk, 1975a; Picou, et al., 1976). A pragmatic importance of the study of school-age adolescents' achievement attitudes is that they appear to be appreciably amenable to policy impact programs as intervention mechanisms in the sorting and selection processes that our nation's schools operate (Persell, 1977). The recent focus on career education in the public schools as a means of aiding "informed" career decisions among their students is a good example (Leifer and Lesser, 1976). For the social scientist whose basic interest lies in the development of a valid theory detailing the process of socioeconomic achievement, the adolescent attitude-adult behavior linkage is attractive for a number of reasons.

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Outside of more pragmatic concerns, this relationship can be couched in terms of a larger body of previous social research findings on the more general relationship between attitudes and human behaviors over a multitude of dimensions.

Formal attitude-behavior theory, however, has yielded generally disappointing empirical results when researchers have attempted to predict social behaviors from verbal attitude statements. For a concept billed as "the primary building stone in the edifice of social psychology" (Allport, 1954), the empirical results reported in such literature are especially disappointing to those interested in the general relationship between attitudes and behavior. For example, in a review of such studies that met certain rigorous standards, Wicker found that only seven of eighteen attitude-behavior correlation coefficients were significant at conventional standards (1969:Table 1).

A rather bright spot among empirical findings that relate verbal attitudes to later overt behavior, however, is the consistent positive correlation found between educational and occupational preferences of adolescents and their subsequent and corresponding adult attainments. It is relatively commonplace for researchers to report Pearson correlations between such attitudes and adult attainment in the range of 0.3 and 0.7 (Jencks et al., 1972; Portes and Wilson, 1976; Sewell and Shah, 1967). The magnitude of these correlations represents some of the most informative and supportive findings on the enigmatic attitude-behavior relationship.[1]

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[1]These correlations represent the linkage of status levels of aspirations to status levels of achievement behaviors in the case of occupational "choice," rather than the correspondence of specific job preference to actual job attainment (Woelfel, 1975).

These career and career-related preferences, usually identified by social scientists as "status aspirations" (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966; Haller and Portes, 1973), are posited to relate to the behavioral object of reference (e.g., education, occupation) in a complex manner. For any individual, the social context of both the person and the attitude is viewed as the "facilitating" field in which the attitude-behavior relationship is enacted (Yinger, 1965; Haller and Portes, 1973; Woelfel, 1975). A clearly specified conceptual treatment of the nature of this "facilitating" field is lacking, however, and has generally precluded empirical testing and further theory construction on the enactment of such "aspirations" into behavior.[2]

Some writers offer that aspirations are "facilitated" by the level of other relevant environmental factors (Gasson, et al., 1972). The spectrum of such "facilitators" ranges widely, from personality to social structural influences (Yinger, 1965). While a definitive treatment of how achievement attitudes are enacted into behavioral attainments is not presently to be found in the sociological literature, the consensus of some is that individual "preferences" for attainment are subsequently enacted under the influence of both personal and social structural facilitating factors (Gasson, et al., 1972:3-5). Certainly, following the theme of inquiry in this book, two likely candidates for the role of fostering different facilitating

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[2]The polemical debate over the theoretical relevance of occupational preferences for adult attainment appears to have resulted in only a partially explained linkage between career preferences and actual status attainment (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1967; Kuvlesky, 1969; Mirande, 1968; Haller, 1968).

environments are the social ascriptions of sex and race. As ascribed social statuses, being in the "wrong" category of either status engenders notions of a "restrictive" rather than a "facilitating" environment for the enactment of career-linked choices.

How do career attitudes for the future, such as preferences, relate to early adult behavior? The literature cited heretofore does not deal in any great detail with how such attitudes hold importance for what appears to be rather long-term career achievement behavior (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Coleman, et al., 1972; Kelley, 1973; Ornstein, 1976). Since attitudinal preferences appear to be differentially interrelated, depending upon the object referent (Falk and Cosby, 1975), can this specific set of attitude-behavior (A-B) relationships for education and occupation be generalized to career-related dimensions? Although some researchers have declared that the relevance of attitudes for subsequent behavior has moved beyond the "bivariate stage" of analysis (Liska, 1974), the present chapter uses such techniques to examine the A-B relationship from the adolescent-to-early-adulthood period across five dimensions. The analysis proceeds by examining each dimension in the preference "block" (shown in the study model in Chapter III)---education, marriage, fertility, residence, and the military---for the four race-sex subgroups of interest in the Southern Youth Study. Contrasts for White males, Black males, White females, and Black females will illustrate the differentials in gross association between attitudes and behaviors for individuals in different ascriptive "facilitating" contexts in early career decision making and achievement.

Congruency of Preference and Behavior Versus Preference "Effects"

Most studies of "aspirations" and attainment, especially along the occupational dimension, observe a moderate positive correlation between the elicited preference and the achievement behavior observed some time later. Usually the object of the aspiration is measured along a hierarchical continuum, such as occupational status, years of schooling or number of children. That is, instead of measuring one's attitude in relation to some object along a hypothetical continuum, the metric underlying most assessments of achievement aspirations has at least a modicum of "meaning" for the individual possessing the attitude.[3] When A-B dimensions are coded into such metric schemes, the nature of the A-B relationship is usually shown to be reasonably linear, as captured in a linear correlation or regression coefficient (Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972:109-110; Gasson, Haller and Sewell, 1972:18-19). The interpretation of such statistics is straight forward: the higher the attitude, the proportionately higher is the later behavior, depending upon the magnitude of the coefficient. The influence of aspirations on attainment as assessed in this manner is couched in terms of the "effects" of attitudes on behavior. Generally, we may class this conception of the A-B linkage under the

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[3]This point should not be pushed too far. The intention here is to contrast the usual metric of the objects of aspirations with the traditional scaling strategies employed in much of the attitude-behavior literature. For example, the metric "years of schooling" has more of a "real world meaning" for the social actor than does "strongly disagree...to...strongly agree" in the Likert format of elicitors. No absoluteness is presupposed (Carter, 1971).

rubric of preference "effects".

From a programmatic viewpoint, however, such a summarization using preference "effects" on behavior curtails the understanding of another issue concerning the consequences of these attitudes. What is the specific character of preference enactment during early adulthood? As attitudinal "choices" for future behavior, is there a pattern of A-B congruency, and does this congruency systematically differ according to facilitating environments such as sex-race ascriptions? If preference "effects" are misinterpreted as the degree of actual preference enactment, then the use of linear models to summarize the A-B linkage can be quite misleading. In considering the degree to which adolescents actually enact their preferences in early adulthood, such A-B congruency is over-estimated by correlations. That is, "high" preferences for an object dimension are usually associated with "higher" attainments along that same dimension, but not necessarily the specific level of preference. While perfect congruence would imply a perfect correlation, the question is whether there is a discernable pattern to preference enactment. An example will make this point more explicit.

Displayed in Table 5-1 is a cross-tabulation of SYS panel members' educational preferences as high school seniors (LEA68) by their educational attainment as young adults (EDAT). As a summary inspection of the emphasized diagonals in this table reveals, educational behavior is not wholly dependent upon the prior attitude. The A-B correlation for education is relatively strong ($r = .501$, $p<.001$), considering the four-year lapse between the assessment of the attitude

TABLE 5-1: Educational Attainment (EDAT) by Senior Level of Educational Aspiration (LEA68): Total Sample (Diagonals showing "congruency" emphasized)*

	LEA68			
EDAT	High School	VoTech or Junior College	Senior College	
High School	[66]	50	25	
VoTech or Junior College	33	[45]	27	
Senior College	1	5	[48]	1052
n =	87	463	502	

* Cell entries are percentages

and the subsequent behavior, as compared to the general class of such correlations (Wicker, 1969). The nature of the relationship, however, shows a revealing trend. Beginning at the lowest preference, high school completion only, most of these young adults (66%) completed high school as of 1972. Only a third continued schooling beyond this level of preference to votech training, while the door to higher education was effectively closed (1%). Those seniors preferring to obtain either a votech or junior college degree were as likely to have only completed high school (50%) as to have actually obtained their stated preference (45%). This pattern becomes more noticeable if the preference for a college degree is considered. Slightly over half of the SYS panel members preferred to obtain the full (four-year) benefits of high education as seniors; about half actually received a college diploma (48%), with one-fourth only completing high school, and another fourth receiving educational credentials from a two-year program.

The purpose of this exercise is to illustrate that while correlations between "aspirations" and attainment are rather strong for A-B relationships observed over a period of a few years, there is a pattern underlying the explicit enactment of preferences, or attitude-behavior congruency, which should not be confused with the "effects" of preferences on achievement. In this example, educational preferences measured in the senior year of high school are strongly related to the level of educational credentials obtained four years later by rural youth in the South. The "parity" between preference and enactment, however, shows that they are not necessarily achieved

but are seldom exceeded. The level of preference thus appears to be a "ceiling" for later attainment. This leaves us with two foci to use in viewing the consequences of adolescent attitudes for early adult behaviors, both within and across sex-race environments, the gross degree of preference "effects" on behavior as compared with the "parity" in actual preference enactment.

Preference Enactment In Process: Sex-Race Comparisons

In order to contrast preference "effects" and preference enactment "parity" across the four facilitating environments of sex and race subgroups, A-B correlations by each object are presented in Table 5-2: the total association is given for the pooled sample as well as the within sex-race subgroup figures for comparisons. These figures represent preference effects on behavior. Enactment parity is shown along the diagonals in A-B cross-tabulations for each object, presented in Tables 5-3 through 5-7. These results are briefly discussed by object.

Education

The correlation of LEA68 and EDAT is moderately strong, ranging from .343 for Black females, to .655 for White females. Preference effects are more pronounced for White males as compared to Black males. In terms of ranking such effects for education, race would appear to supercede sex in these data. That is, White females show the highest A-B correlation, followed by White males, Black males and Black females. There is however, a reversal in sex dominance

TABLE 5-2: Correlation of High School Senior Attitude (A) and Behavior (B) Four Years Later

A-B Object	Total Sample	White Males	Black Males	White Females	Black Females
Education	.501***	.547***	.404***	.655***	.343**
Marriage	-.518***	-.427***	-.379***	-.615***	-.383**
Fertility	.014	.092	-.034	-.059	.011
Residence	.288***	.290***	.281***	.258***	.127
Military[a]	.145***	.171***	.097	---	---

[a]Only a few young women in the SYS had participated in the military as of 1972; hence, statistics for females are omitted since they would have little substantive meaning.

LEGEND: *** $p < .001$

in moving from Whites to Blacks.

Inspection of the diagonals in Table 5-3 addresses the degree of enactment parity. Across all groups, there appears the "ceiling" effect that preferences have for educational attainment. In all instances, save one to be discussed shortly, educational decisions made as seniors are very seldom exceeded. A noteworthy exception is that males of either race who prefer to end their formal schooling with a high school diploma are just as likely to acquire further credentials. These extra years of schooling are predominately spent in vocational or junior college programs. Two major trends can be observed in this table, reflecting different facilitation processes, first by sex, then by race.

Young rural women are more precise in enactment parity when they prefer to end their formal training early. In choosing to discontinue their schooling, all of the White females (100%) and most (83%) of the Black females had not obtained any further educational training. As compared to their male counterparts within each race, these young women, in addition, were just as likely to obtain a four-year degree if they preferred to do so. This parity, however, does not hold for vocational programs. Another trend is that the pattern of preference enactment underlying the lower "effect" correlations for Blacks reveals the different facilitating milieus across races. Contrasts between Blacks and Whites for each sex show that, in preferring higher education in a senior-level college or university, Blacks tend proportionately to "fall by the wayside." Among those with a preference of "senior college," Blacks are over-represented on a percentage

TABLE 5-3: Educational Attainment (EDAT) by Senior Level of Educational Aspiration (LEA68): Race-Sex Subgroups*

EDAT	LEA68											
	White Males			Black Males			White Females			Black Females		
	High School	VoTech or Junior College	Senior College	High School	VoTech or Junior College	Senior College	High School	VoTech or Junior College	Senior College	High School	VoTech or Junior College	Senior College
High School	45	35	14	52	45	26	100	64	26	83	63	45
VoTech or Junior College	52	58	31	48	51	41	0	33	13	17	31	21
Senior College	3	7	55	0	4	33	0	3	61	0	7	34
n =	31	134	199 (364)	23	120	103 (246)	21	118	101 (240)	12	91	99 (202

* Cell entries are percentages

basis slightly less than two-to-one over Whites at the high school and vocational attainment levels. This comparison is made separately for males and females and is surprisingly similar.

Marriage

Recent analysts have found that perhaps the best means to predict marital timing is to ask the respondent directly (Bayer, 1969; Call and Otto, 1976). In the pooled SYS sample, the correlation of marital plans with marital duration four years later is slightly higher than the A-B association regarding education.[4] Subgroup differences in preference effects tend to illustrate the facilitation for young White men and women in controlling marital timing during early adulthood. Specifically, these "effects" for White females are markedly larger than those for Black females.

The precision with which rural White females are able to plan marital timing becomes evident in Table 5-4. Eight-out-of-ten (79%) young White women, as opposed to six-out-of-ten (61%) Black women, who as seniors planned to marry during the four year post-high period, actually entered marriage. Marital preference enactment parity thus shows a differential of about 20 percent between races for women. Race differences in enactment parity for men are only slightly less noticeable; the comparable rate differential reaches 17 percent. Part of the ability displayed by rural White women to

[4]The A-B correlations for marriage are based on the marital duration coding (Chapter II), while the tabular presentations are based on collapsed dichotomies.

TABLE 5-4: Marital Status (MAR72) by Senior Marital Plans (MARP68): Race-Sex Subgroups*

MAR72	MARP68							
	White Males		Black Males		White Females		Black Females	
	1-4 Years	5-Plus Years	1-4 Years	5-Plus Years	1-4 Years	5-Plus Years	1-4 Years	5-Plus Years
Not Married	33	60	46	67	21	56	39	64
Married	67	40	54	33	79	44	61	36
n =	129	235 (364)	43	203 (246)	149	57 (240)	76	126 (202)

* Cell entries are percentages

control marital timing probably lies in their actual preferences. As seniors, most of them (62%) preferred to enter marriage during the recontact interim period, while considerably fewer Black females (37.6%) wanted to do so. Men, particularly Blacks, showed much less a desire for early marriage as compared to White females.

Fertility

In addition to the timing of marriage, fertility is a contingency related to socioeconomic attainment (Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972), especially during early adulthood (Campbell, 1974). The A-B relationship regarding fertility also has a well-documented niche in the literature (Freedman, Goldberg and Sharp, 1954; Westoff, Mishler and Kelley, 1957; Davis, 1967; Kuvlesky and Obordo, 1972).

The SYS panel has a couple of caveats for the analysis of the fertility A-B conversion. The short period after high school when fertility behavior was measured (four years) precludes any strict generalizations about fertility attitudes and cumulative fertility. Possible comparisons per se with many often-cited studies are not supported. On the other hand, the present longitudinal data offer insight into early fertility process that are not enlightened by many studies.

Current thinking indicates that fertility preferences are instilled early in the life cycle, especially among females (Bumpass, 1969; Adamchak, 1977). Furthermore, since fertility rates are higher in rural areas (Veevers, 1973; Nye and Berardo, 1973), the relevance of fertility attitudes for subsequent fertility patterns rates a

critical examination for rural youth during the period covered in the scope of the SYS data. In addition, practically nothing is known about the relationship between fertility and other attitudes which impinge upon early adult achievement patterns (Kuvlesky and Obordo, 1972; Falk and Cosby, 1975).

A general observation about the data displayed in Table 5-5 is that there is a strong preference for procreation during adulthood among rural high school seniors. Compared to the dimensions of education or marriage, the predictability of early fertility from corresponding preferences measured four years earlier appears quite poor. The correlations for fertility shown in Table 5-2 are not significantly different from zero, indicating little "effect" of attitudes on behavior for this dimension. Regarding procreative enactment, parity is obtained to a noticeably higher degree among males (Table 5-5). Of those who preferred not to have children, at least 80 percent of the Black or White males were able to remain childless in 1972. Of course, the procreative process is interrelated with the timing of marriage, a qualifier to this observation analyzed in a later chapter. Among young rural women, slightly over one-third of each race had at least one offspring during the first four years after completing high school.

Residence

Champions of the growing preference for rural residence among the nation's population have documented the trend toward rural preference over the last thirty or so years (Fuguitt and Zuiches,

TABLE 5-5: Fertility (FERT72) by senior Fertility Expectations (FEX68): Race-Sex Subgroups*

	FEX68							
	White Males		Black Males		White Females		Black Females	
FERT72	None	One-Plus	None	One-Plus	None	One-Plus	None	One-Plus
None	88	78	80	73	63	62	62	64
One-Plus	12	22	20	27	34	38	38	36
n =	26	338 (364)	15	231 (246)	8	232 (240)	13	189 (203)

* Cell entries are percentages

1975; Lee, 1974).[5] Among the decisions made by adolescents for future life states, the place of residential preference in actual mobility, while not a new focus of inquiry (Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970), is lacking in a systematic integration with other influences on early adult achievement patterns. Moreover, we know little about simultaneous sex and race patterns of residential preference and subsequent location.

In these data, Black females stand alone in their inability to affect senior preferences as young adults (Table 5-2). The other three subgroups exhibit short-run preference "effects" for early residential location that are about 40 percent greater in magnitude. Preference "effects" for residence are approximately half the magnitude, by way of comparison, to those observed for education or marriage. The A-B parity for these young adults reflects basically racial differences in residential patterns, as shown in Table 5-6. Preferring to live on a farm is a very difficult one to enact with precision, at least in the early post-high school period of the life cycle. White males are more able to move into a farm location than their peers of another gender or race. In spite of the general growing trend for rural residence (Cosby and Howard, 1976), proportionately more Whites prefer a rural nonfarm setting in which

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[5]An excellent illustrative summary of many national and regional research findings on the growing preference for rural residence can be found in an unpublished paper by Arthur G. Cosby and William G. Howard, "Residential preferences in America: The growing desire for rural life," Paper prepared for the Rural Development Seminar Series, Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture, March 29, 1976.

TABLE 5-6: Residence (RES72) by Senior Residential Expectation (REX68): Race-Sex Subgroups*

RES72	REX68											
	White Males			Black Males			White Females			Black Females		
	Farm	RNF-V	City	Farm	RNF-V	City	Farm	RNF-V	City	Farm	RNF-V	City
Farm	30	11	6	21	31	5	19	8	4	0	11	5
RNF-V	48	45	35	29	49	30	38	53	29	0	39	38
City	22	44	59	50	38	65	43	39	66	100	50	57
n =	54	161	149 (364)	14	71	161 (246)	16	112	112 (240)	2	46	154 (202)

*Cell entries are percentages; RNF-V is a combination of "country-except farm" and "town or village" categories, and city contains "small city" and "very large city" (see Chapter II).

to live than do Blacks. Accordingly, a somewhat higher percentage of Blacks indicated a desire for an urban location. Males of either race obtain a rural nonfarm residence at similar parity rates; however, White females show a higher parity than do Black females. Differentials by either sex or race appear nil for those preferring and obtaining city residence.

In general, it is difficult to enact the preference for a farm residence in early adulthood. For the SYS panel members, given such a preference as seniors, they were more likely to be living in a city. This holds with the caveat that White males were more likely to convert such a preference into a rural, but nonfarm, residence. The parity for residential preference enactment generally exhibited the "ceiling" effect with one exception: the inability of Black females to locate in accord with her preference for a rural (farm or nonfarm) setting.

Military

The military "option" for late adolescence has been written about both as a career contingency offering opportunity (Janowitz, 1971) and little socioeconomic return (Cutright, 1974). Of the empirical studies regarding the overt benefits from military service, the works of Mason (1970), Fisher et al. (1975), and Cutright (1974) are informative. Their findings suggest, quite indicatively, that the "option" of the military exists (at least at the time the above studies were conducted) as an objective alternative in the career-linked decisions encountered by males during late

adolescence. Few analyses exist, however, that relate such decisions to military attitudes; a few assess the relevance of military attitudes and preferences to actual military entry using a longitudinal design. An exemplary treatment of the latter A-B relationship is that of Johnston and Bachman (1972).

Using a concept somewhat analogous to congruence or "parity" as used here, they investigated the consistency of military plans to immediate post-high school behaviors and found that higher educational preferences were highly consistent with subsequent behavior, with occupational preferences less consistent. How military plans fit into the preference structure of education and work for young men across America is evinced by this observation:

> "A very similar picture appears for those who tried to enlist in military service. Very few of them had longstanding plans consistent with their post-high school behavior. Only one percent planned in grades ten through twelve that they would later enlist; and only 10 percent accurately forecast in eleventh and twelfth grades what they would do. By the end of twelfth grade, one-half of them anticipated that they were going to try to enlist after high school. It is clear that the point at which a decision gets made about a post-high school activity varies depending on the activity being chosen. The decision to go to college... is made very early by most young men... But the choice of working...or enlisting in military service is made rather late for most" (Johnston and Bachman, 1972:27-28).

It is evident that the military service as an objective contingency also exists as a social psychological one for males completing high school, as half of those who tried to enlist in the military planned to do so as seniors.

The level of military preference "effect" on actual extent of

participation is modest, but varies between White and Black males. The A-B correlation (Table 5-2) for White males ranks next to the lowest in magnitude, compared across these five dimensions of behavior. That statistic for Black males is not significantly different from zero, but maintains the same relative rank. The military preferences of White males, then, modestly effect the degree of military participation in early adulthood while those of Black males have only a trivial effect on actual military service.

The structure of this race difference might be in the parity of enactment (Table 5-7). The modal preference for either group, as seniors, was to wait and be drafted. This military preference was much more pronounced for Blacks (71% vs. 44%). Either group that wanted to totally avoid military participation actually did so at a rate of about three-to-one. On the other extreme, preferred enlistment, about forty percent of these young men reported serving in the armed forces at least one out of four years in the post-high school interim period. The essential difference between races in 1972 military status is that, while they were much more inclined to enter the military only if drafted, these young Blacks had actually served counter to their earlier preferences at a modestly higher rate than Whites. Additionally, relatively more Whites (38%) planned as seniors to enlist than did Blacks (23%). These findings are consistent with the relative preferences of young White and Black males across the nation during the same time period (Johnson and Bachman, 1972:104, Table 7-1).

TABLE 5-7: Military Service Participation through 1972 (MILS72) by Senior Military Service Expectations (MSEX68): Race Subgroups*

MILS72	MSEX68					
	White Males			Black Males		
	No Participation	Draft Only	Enlist	No Participation	Draft Only	Enlist
Never Served	75	63	61	65	59	57
One-Plus Years	25	36	39	35	41	43
n =	65	160	139 (364)	34	156	56 (246)

* Cell entries are percentages

Conclusions On Preferences and Behavior

The career-related decisions made by members of the Southern Youth Study panel as seniors in high school evince a notable impact on their behavior as young adults. With few exceptions, the simple correlation between a particular preference for a future behavioral pattern and the relative level of actual behavior only four years later is significant. The major exception to this trend is early fertility behavior. While other research demonstrates the impact of fertility "desires" for later fertility patterns (Bumpass and Westoff, 1969), these data suggest that little utility arises from the simple prediction of short-run fertility by earlier preferences at this stage of the life cycle.

The nature of how preferences are translated into behavior illustrates the "relativized" pattern of A-B congruency (what we have termed "parity") during the transition from high school to work or further schooling. Preferences exhibit some notable exactness with subsequent behavior, but as often as not, higher preference levels intersect with actually lower degrees of attainment behavior. Correlations summarize the coincidence of variation in preferences with variation in behavior without explicitly addressing the often-inferred conclusion of parity between them (Cosby, Thomas and Falk, 1976:425). There is a modest degree of precise A-B parity in each of the dimensions considered here, except fertility, but the correlation of these attitudes with early adult behavior somewhat overestimates it. We may think of correlations as demonstrations of the "effect" of attitudes on later attainment, with these attitudes appearing to be

imperfect ceilings for subsequent behavior.[6]

Sex-race differences in the translation of senior preferences into actual attainments suggest some rather divergent ascriptive features in operation among rural youth. When it comes to the decision to end formal schooling with the end of high school, males of either race are just as likely as not to obtain additional training, contrary to their preferences as seniors. Females, in stark contrast, are highly unlikely to continue beyond high school unless they expressed a preference to do so as seniors. In preferring higher education, Blacks tend to "fall by the wayside" in actual attainment when proportionately compared to Whites. This lack of facilitation for obtaining a preferred college degree is observed when comparing sexes separately. Rural White women possess a superiority in controlling the timing of marriage, perhaps because most panel members of this subgroup planned marriage in the four years after high school.

White males are more able to obtain a preferred farm location on which to reside than their peers of another gender or race. Blacks tend to have (and obtain) more urban preferences for residence than Whites, as generally observed in other national and regional studies. Particularly notable is the inability of Black females to locate in accord with their preference of a rural residential setting. Regarding military service, the modal preference for males, particularly Black

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[6]Haller and Portes (1973:68) allude to this aspect of the linkage of "aspirations" and attainment, but do not develop the notion sufficiently. Cosby, Thomas and Falk (1976) make it more explicit.

males, was to "wait and be drafted." Moderate non-participatory attitudes, either "no participation" or "draft only," were adopted by most Black (77%) and White (62%) males. Although the data do not permit strict generalizations, these modal military preferences not to enlist during a time of national conflict advance counter-arguments to the rural myth that military service is the centerpiece of Southern culture (Vance, 1939; Reed, 1974). Recent data from national samples demonstrate that there are not significant regional differences in enlistment preferences (U.S. President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, 1970; Johnston and Bachman, 1972).

Generally, the findings in this chapter tend to extend those of others to the Deep South. Career-related attitudes during the senior year of high school do appear to hold substantial relevance for most early adulthood behaviors observed here, with few noted exceptions. The manner and magnitude of this relevance varies, however, across the object considered. A question not addressed thus far is the relationship between such attitudes; given the importance of attitudes for later behavior, what relevance does a decision in one dimension hold for a preference in another dimension? The complex of achievement attitudes as they emerge from exposure to work and/or post-secondary schooling and are reformulated into early adult attitudes is considered in the following chapter.

Chapter VI

DETERMINANTS OF CAREER ORIENTATIONS AND EARLY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: EVALUATION OF A CAUSAL MODEL

J. Steven Picou
William G. Howard

Introduction

This chapter will provide an empirical assessment of the consequences of socioeconomic status, race and sex for the early educational achievement of rural youth. Socioeconomic status, race and sex are viewed as ascribed status characteristics, which imply notions of discrimination, racism, sexism and differential opportunity for success and achievement. Early educational achievement entails access or denial to higher education and, correspondingly, occupational and attitudinal patterns stemming from such early educational behavior. Socioeconomic

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status characteristics reflect social origins in terms of occupational and educational achievements of parents. In the context of the rural south, residence is viewed as a "restrictive" setting for early educational achievements (Blau and Duncan, 1967).

Theoretical Orientation and Objectives

The theoretical framework for analysis is derived from Chapter II of this volume. Initially, an evaluation of the impact of social origins, race and sex, will be assessed for educational attainment. This model will be expanded to incorporate a variety of intervening, or endogenous variables, which have consequences as mediators and predictor variables. The expansion of the basic model, along with an assessment of both direct and indirect effects of endogenous and exogenous variables will constitute the initial phase of the analysis. The second phase will be concerned with an evaluation of the substantive nature of career choices made by different race-sex control groups. The combined analyses will allow for an assessment of the impact of social origins, race and sex on educational attainment and career-related orientations, as well as an understanding of the nature and types of occupational preferences made by various groups of Southern rural youth.

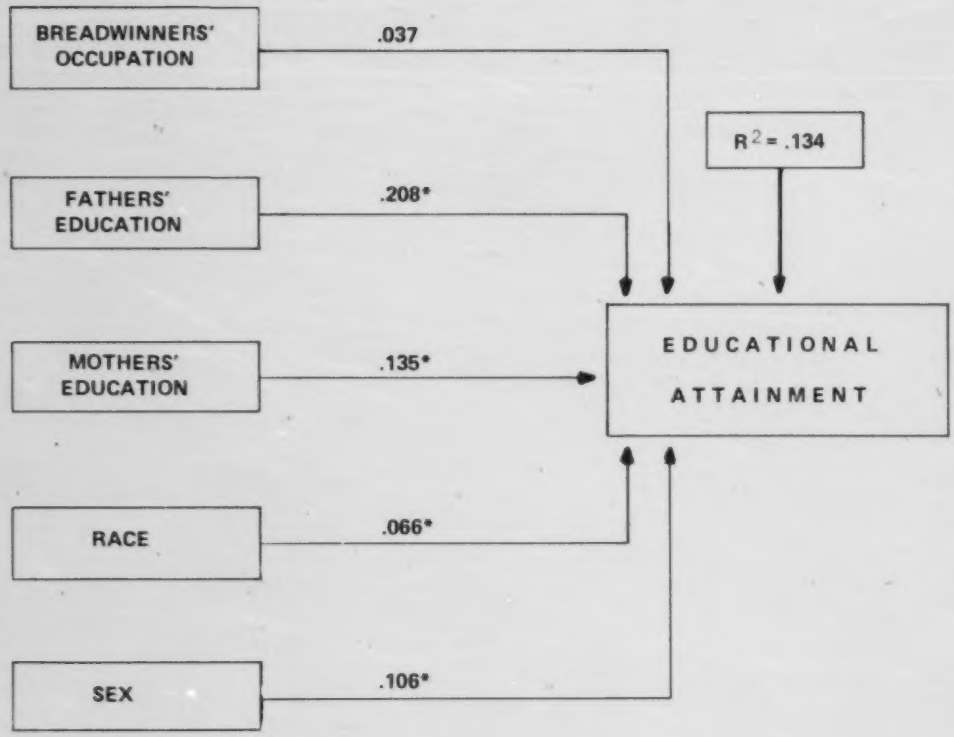
The Reduced-Form Model

As noted earlier in this volume (Chapter II) social origins and tracking programs in high schools are thought to be important determinants of educational attainment. Numerous studies of school systems have documented these relationships (Schafer and Olexa, 1971; Trimberger, 1973; Rosenbaum, 1976). The effects of the three indicators of

socioeconomic status along with those of race and sex are presented in Figure 6-1. The standardized coefficients reveal that father's education and mother's education had the strongest effects on educational attainment. However, both race and sex were found to have significant coefficients of lesser magnitude than those observed for each of the parents' educational achievement variables. These results indicate that the educational achievements of rural youths' parents are the most important predictors of educational attainment. For the exogenous variables, the findings reveal a strong consistency with empirical results of previous studies (Hauser and Featherman, 1976). Rural males and Whites achieve more education than their female and Black counterparts.

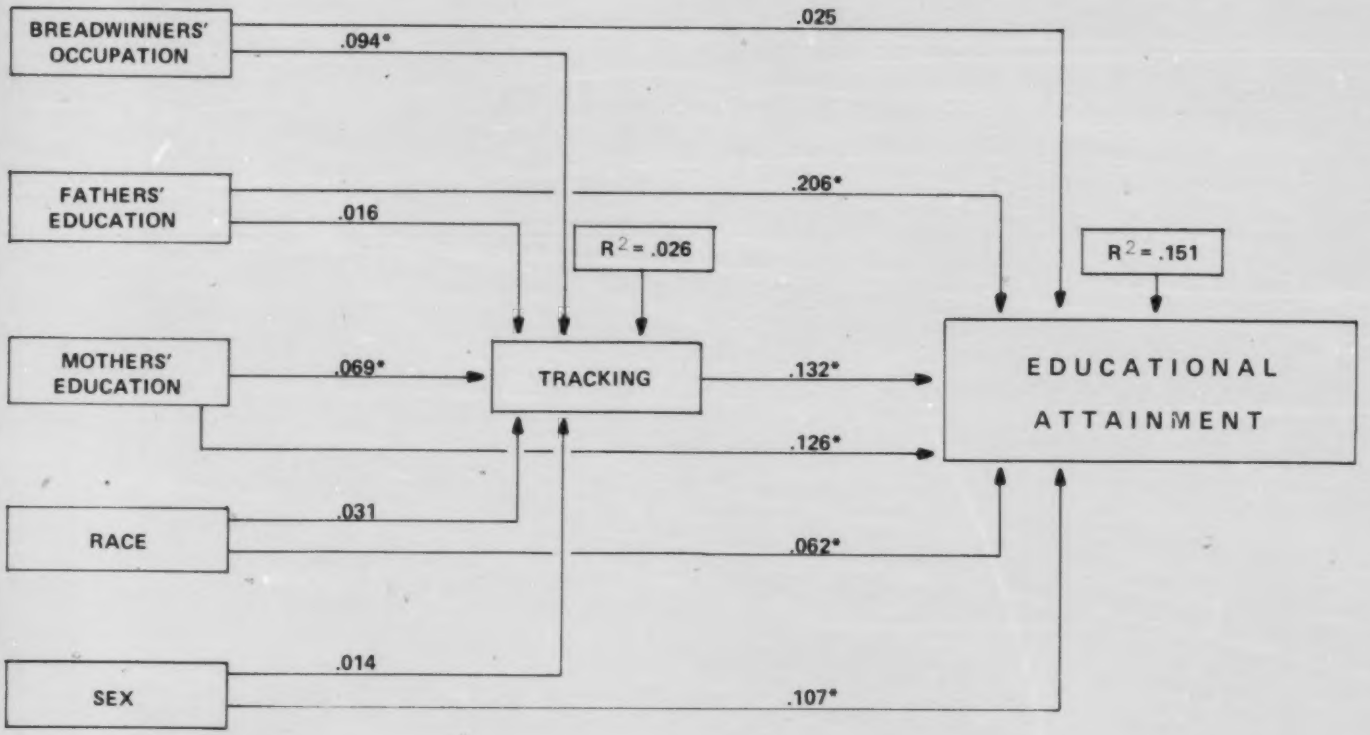
As discussed earlier, tracking systems in high schools have been viewed as important for structuring patterns of educational inequality. The significance of socioeconomic status, race and sex for influencing tracking and educational outcomes will now be evaluated. Figure 6-2 reveals that the basic exogenous variables in the model had no substantial consequences for tracking students into college preparatory curriculums. Only readwinners' occupation and mother's education manifested relatively weak statistically significant effects (B = .094 and .069, respectively). The direct effects of fathers' and mothers' education, race and sex on educational attainment were similar to those observed for the initial reduced-form model (Figure 6-1). The addition of the tracking variable in the equation for educational achievement revealed a significant effect (B = .132) on educational attainment. Tracking was not found to substantially mediate the effects of social origins on educational attainment. The effect of tracking, as with the effects observed for the other exogenous variables, was rather modest.

Figure 6-1: Reduced-Form Model



*Pr ≤ .05

Figure 6-2: Standardized Beta Coefficients for Expanded Model, Incorporating Tracking as an Intervening Variable.



The model presented in Figure 6-2 explained only 15 percent of the variance in educational attainment, suggesting the necessity to expand this framework to include additional variables relevant to educational achievement patterns.

The next phase of the analysis will focus on an expansion of the model presented in Figure 6-2. Figure 6-3 presents the structure of this model which contains both marital and fertility plans of the respondents, plus educational and occupational plans prior to high school graduation, as well as educational and occupational plans after high school graduation. This model will initially be analyzed for the total sample with race and sex considered as exogenous variables. Next, a comparison of the process of educational achievement and the formation of career orientation will be addressed by contrasting models for four respondent categories--Black males, White males, Black females and White females.

Marital and Fertility Plans

The results of the path analysis for the expanded model are presented in Table 6-1. Our strategy for interpreting variable effects will include discussion of the sequential effects of the exogenous variables plus corresponding endogenous variables as they are systematically added to the regression equations. The effects of the socioeconomic status variables, race and sex on tracking remain consistent with coefficients reported in Figure 6-2. Turning to the next equation in the model, the influence of the socioeconomic status variables, race, sex and tracking on high school marriage plans was assessed. All the predictor variables had significant effects on marriage plans.

Figure 6-3: A Schematic Sequential Causal System for Educational Attainment and Career Orientations.

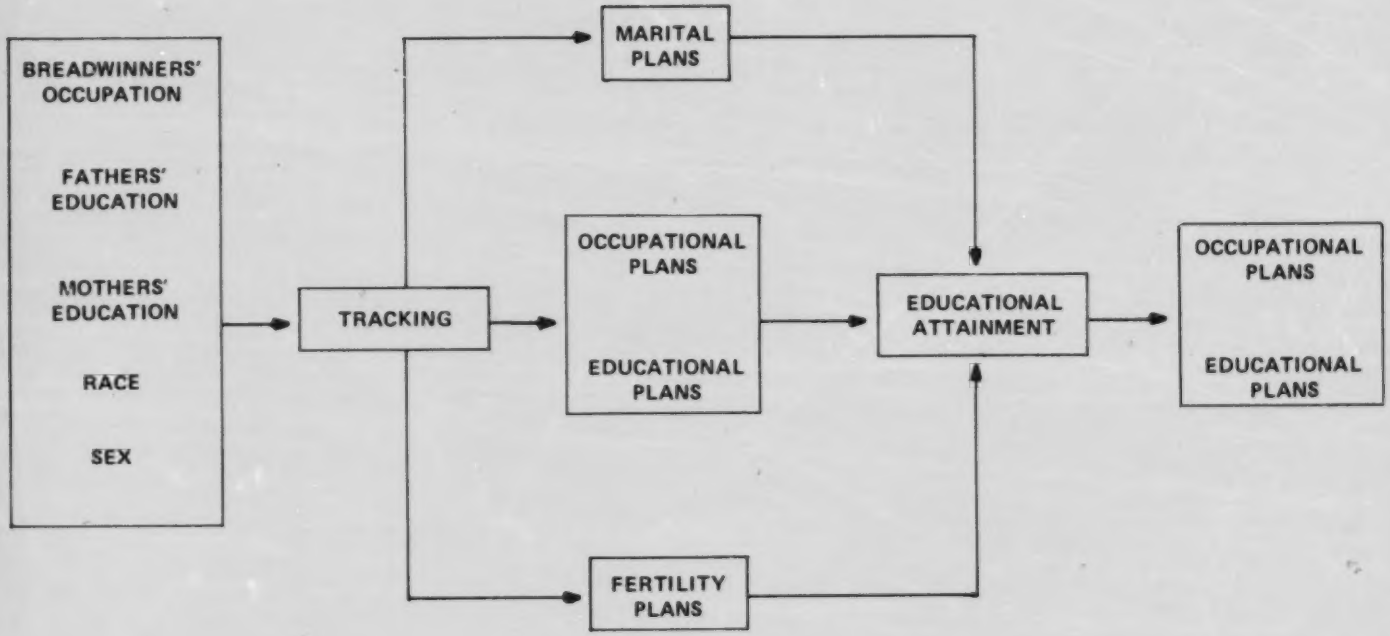


Table 6-1. Standardized beta coefficients and coefficients of determination for expanded model with race and sex as exogeneous variables.

	BROCC	FED	MED	RACE	SEX	SCHP66	MARP68	FEX68	EDEX68	OCEX68	EDAT	EDEX72	OCEX72	a	R^2
SCHP66	.094*	.016	.069*	.031	-.014	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.074	.026
MARP68	.071*	.077*	.068*	-.318*	.353*	.046	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4.218	.211
FEX68	.018	-.015	-.008	-.048	-.008	.018	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.995	.002
EDEX68	.097*	.175*	.158*	-.133*	.065*	.143*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.131	.206
OCEX68	.074*	.091*	.103*	.059	-.111*	.151*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	34.990	.120
EDAT	-.030	.120*	.045	.136*	.064*	.050*	.112*	.022	.354*	.169*	--	--	--	.471	.359
EDEX72	.010	.040	.019	-.099*	.022	.066*	.025	.013	.238*	.062*	.505*	--	--	.822	.544
OCEX72	.056	.043	-.003	.107*	-.163*	.020	.021	.019	.063	.171*	.352*	--	--	9.396	.334

*PR $\leq$ .05

Interestingly, sex manifested the strongest effect (B = .353), indicating that males tended to defer marriage, or hold marriage plans for later in the future than females. The effect of race was similar in magnitude (B = -.318), with the negative sign indicating that White respondents tended to have more immediate plans for marriage than Blacks. The effects of the three indicators of socioeconomic status were relatively similar in magnitude, suggesting a modest trend for deferring marriage plans with corresponding increments in socioeconomic status. School programs, or tracking, did not manifest any significant effect on marriage plans. The combined effects of the exogenous variables resulted in the explanation of approximately 21 percent of the variance for the respondents' marriage plans.

For fertility plans, the exogenous variables and tracking all failed to manifest significant direct effects. From the analysis presented above, plans to marry are apparently influenced by a variety of social attributes, while fertility plans, or number of children anticipated, are not predicted by these factors.

Educational and Occupational Plans

The regression of educational expectations (1968) on the five exogenous variables and tracking resulted in significant coefficients for all variables in the equation. A contrast of the standarized path coefficients presented in Table 6-1 revealed that father's education (B = .158) had the strongest effects on educational plans. Tracking (B = .143) was also found to have a relatively strong, positive direct effect, indicating that students in college preparatory programs held higher plans for educational achievement. Race and sex both manifested

significant direct effects. The coefficient observed for race (B = -.133) indicated that Black respondents had higher level educational plans than Whites. Furthermore, although of considerably less magnitude (B = .065), males tended to have higher level plans than females. Breadwinners' occupation was also found to have a positive, significant effect on educational expectations (B = .097). Approximately 20 percent of the variance in educational plans was explained by the variables included in the equation.

The equation for occupational plans resulted in considerably less variance being explained by the same regression equation (R^2 = .12). However, only one variable (race) failed to have a significant direct effect. Interestingly enough, tracking had the strongest effect on occupational plans (B = .151), followed by sex (B = -.111) and mothers' education (B = .103). Apparently students in college prep programs, females and youth whose mothers attained higher levels of education had higher-status job plans. The effect of fathers' education and breadwinners' occupation on occupational plans were of considerably less magnitude while still obtaining statistical significance.

Educational Attainment

The regression of educational attainment on the exogenous and endogenous variables in the model resulted in the explanation of approximately 36 percent of the variance for this dependent variable. High school educational and occupational plans were observed to have the strongest impact on educational attainment. Educational plans manifested a direct effect (B = .354) which was almost twice the magnitude of occupational plans (B = .169). Of the five exogenous variables included

in the equation, race (B = .136) and fathers' education (B = .120) continued to exert significant direct effects. White respondents and respondents whose fathers had relatively high levels of educational achievement tended to have higher levels of early educational achievement. The effect of sex on educational attainment was about half of the magnitude of race (B = .064), revealing a tendency for males to have higher education achievement. Breadwinners' occupation and mothers' education failed to exert significant effects on educational attainment.

With regard to the remaining endogenous components of the model, marital plans and tracking were found to have significant effects. The impact of fertility plans was found to be non-significant. Respondents who tended to defer marital plans (B = .112) and in college prep programs tended to have higher educational achievements (B = .050).

Post High School Career Plans

The pattern of variable effects observed for high school educational and occupational plans and educational attainment did not hold for post high school career plans. The primary difference in variable effects was the lack of significant direct effects for the socioeconomic status variables. Race maintained a significant direct effect which was negative for educational expectations (B = -.099) and positive for occupational expectations (B = .107). These results indicate that Black respondents tended to have higher educational plans, while Whites maintained higher-status occupational plans. Sex manifested a negative effect on occupational plans (B = -.163),

suggesting that females had higher status job plans than males.[1]

For the remaining variables in the model, tracking had a weak direct effect on post-high school educational plans, while high school occupational plans manifested a direct effect of similar magnitude (B = .062). Educational plans in 1968 and educational attainment were found to have the strongest effects on post-high school educational plans. The standardized coefficient observed for educational attainment (B = .505) was more than twice the magnitude found for educational plans (B = .238). For post-high school occupational plans, both educational attainment (B = .352) and high school occupational plans (B = .171) were found to have significant direct effects. The combined variable effects resulted in the explanation of 54 percent of the variance for post-high school educational plans and 33 percent for post-high school occupational plans.

Indirect Effects

Turning attention to an evaluation of the indirect effects observed in the model for educational attainment, it was found that both educational and occupational expectations mediated a substantial proportion of the total effects of the exogenous and tracking variables (Table 6-2). For fathers' education, 30 percent of the total effect on educational attainment was mediated by high school educational plans. However, most of the effect of fathers' education on educational attainment was

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[1]The finding that rural females hold higher-status occupational plans than their male counterparts is investigated in greater detail later in this chapter.

Table 6-2: Total effects, indirect effects, direct effects (percentage estimates in parenthesis) for educational attainment on social origin variables, school program, marital plans, fertility plans, educational plans, and occupational plans.

EFFECTS: Variables	Total	Direct	VIA (x_6) SCHP66	VIA (x_7) MAR68	VIA (x_8) FEX68	VIA (x_9) EDEX	VIA (x_{10}) OCEX	VIA x_6, x_7	VIA x_6, x_8	VIA x_6, x_9	VIA x_6, x_{10}
BROCC (x_1)	.028	-.030 (-107%)	.004 (14%)	.008 (29%)	.000 (0%)	.034 (128%)	.012 (43%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.004 (14%)	.002 (7%)
FED(x_2)	.206	.120 (58%)	.001 (1%)	.008 (4%)	.000 (0%)	.062 (30%)	.015 (7%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)
MED (x_3)	.131	.045 (34%)	.003 (2%)	.008 (6%)	.000 (0%)	.056 (43%)	.017 (13%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)
RACE (x_4)	.066	.136 (206%)	.002 (3%)	-.036 (-54%)	.001 (2%)	-.047 (-71%)	.010 (15%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)
SEX (x_5)	.145	.064 (44%)	-.000 (0%)	.040 (28%)	.000 (0%)	.023 (16%)	.018 (12%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)	.000 (0%)
SCHP66 (x_6)	.130	.050 (39%)	---- ----	.005 (4%)	.000 (0%)	.050 (39%)	.000 (19%)	.050 ----	.025 ----	---- ----	---- ----

direct (58%), suggesting that additional intervening variables may be involved in the process. For mothers' education, 34 percent of the total effect was found to stem from the direct effect of this variable on educational attainment. Approximately 43 percent of the total effect was mediated by high school educational plans and 13 percent was mediated by high school occupational plans. For the indirect effects of the three socioeconomic status variables, high school educational plans was again found to have an important role as an intervening variable. The other intervening variables were found to have relatively minor consequences as intervening variables.

For the indirect effects of race, sex and tracking somewhat different patterns emerged. Race manifested a strong direct effect on educational attainment. Despite the fact that Black respondents held later marital plans and higher-level educational plans for the future in high school, White respondents achieved higher levels of education. Although, a rather substantial proportion of the total effect of sex was direct (44%), marital plans (28%) and both educational (16%) and occupational plans (12%) were found, taken together, to mediate 56 percent of the total effect. Males tended to have higher educational attainment because of postponement of marriage longer and because of higher-level plans for future educational and occupational status. Although 39 percent of the total effect of tracking on educational attainment was direct, once again both educational and occupational plans in high school mediated a substantial proportion of the total effect. Approximately 39 percent of the total effect operated through educational plans, while an additional 19 percent was mediated by occupational plans.

In Tables 6-3 and 6-4 the indirect effects of the high school career plans variables, operating through educational attainment, are presented for post-high school educational and occupational plans, respectively. For post-high school educational plans, the impact of marital plans was primarily indirect (Table 6-3). Educational achievement mediated 69 percent of the total effect of marital plans on post-high school educational plans. Although the total effect of fertility plans on post-high school educational plans was exceedingly small (.023), educational attainment was found to mediate a substantial proportion (44%) of the total effect. The total effect of high school educational plans and post-high school educational plans was rather substantial (.416). Approximately 57 percent was direct, while actual educational achievement mediated 43 percent of the total effect. For occupational plans, educational attainment was observed as mediating 58 percent of the total effect on post-high school educational plans. The results presented in Table 6-3 reveal the important role that educational achievements play in transmitting the impact of high school career-related decisions on post-high school educational plans.

In Table 6-4, similar indirect effects are presented for post-high school occupational plans. As was observed for educational plans, most of the total effect of marital plans on post-high school occupational plans was found to operate indirectly through educational attainment (65%). However, for fertility plans, most of the rather small total effect was direct (73%). Educational attainment mediated some 57 percent of the effect of high school educational plans on post-high school occupational plans. However, the effect of high school occupational plans on post-high school occupational plans was primarily

Table 6-3: Total effect, indirect effects and direct effect for post-high school educational plans on marital plans, fertility plans, educational plans, occupational plans and educational attainment.

Effects: Variables	Total	Direct	Indirect Via Educational Attainment
Marital Plans	.081	.025 (31%)	.056 (69%)
Fertility Plans	.023	.013 (56%)	.010 (44%)
Educational Plans	.416	.238 (57%)	.178 (43%)
Occupational Plans	.147	.062 (42%)	.085 (58%)

Table 6-4: Total effect, indirect effect, and direct effect for post-high school occupational plans on marital plans, fertility plans, educational plans, occupational plans and educational attainment.

Effects: Variables	Total	Direct	Indirect Via Educational Attainment
Marital Plans	.060	.021 (35%)	.039 (65%)
Fertility Plans	.026	.019 (73%)	.007 (27%)
Educational Plans	.146	.063 (43%)	.083 (57%)
Occupational Plans	.230	.171 (74%)	.059 (26%)

direct, as educational attainment mediated only 26 percent of the total effect.

In summary, for the general model, the social origins variables were found to have very weak effects on pupil placement in school tracking programs and the fertility plans of rural high school youth. Consideration of social origins were more important for marital and educational plans and, to a lesser degree, occupational plans. The socioeconomic status indicators manifested modest, yet positive effects on marital plans and occupational plans. Substantially stronger effects were observed for these variables on educational plans, as fathers' and mothers' education were found to have the largest direct effects. The direct effect of fathers' education remained for educational attainment, while all three socioeconomic status variables were found to be rather inconsequential for post-high school educational and occupational plans.

Race and sex direct effects were observed in a rather inconsistent pattern throughout the model. Both of these variables had rather substantial consequences for marital plans. For high school educational and occupational plans and similar post-high school plans, significant effects were noted. Blacks tended to have higher-level educational plans and females higher-status occupational plans at both points in time. However, for interim educational attainment, Whites and males had higher-level achievements. High school tracking programs, although poorly predicted in the model, was observed to have modest positive effects on both high school educational and occupational plans, educational attainment and post-high school educational plans. Marital plans had a significant direct effect on educational attainment as

did high school educational and occupational plans. The improtant role educational achievement has for the development of post-high school educational and occupational plans was obvious from the rather substantial path coefficients observed for this variable.

With regard to patterns of indirect effects, high school educational plans were found to be an important mediator for educational achievement and educational achievement mediated a considerable amount of the effects of high school career-related plans on post-high school educational and occupational plans. Nonetheless, substantial direct effects were found to persist for most variables throughout the model.

Model Contrasts by Race-Sex Control Groups

The next phase of the analysis provides an assessment of the basic model (Figure 6-3) by race-sex categories. The data presented in Table 6-5 reveals coefficients for Black and White males, while Table 6-6 contains coefficients for Black and White females. It should be noted that for within-model comparisons of variable effects, standardized beta coefficients (path regression coefficients) will be contrasted (Schoenberg, 1972). From the data presented in Tables 6-5 and 6-6, comparisons of variable effects between and within race-sex categories can be made. The discussion of the four models, one for each race-sex category, will begin with the exogenous variables and proceed to the ultimate dependent variables, post-high school educational and occupational plans.

Initially, we will focus on the effects of the three indicators of socioeconomic status on tracking. For all four race-sex categories, the three indicators of socioeconomic status were found to manifest

Table 6-5. Standardized and unstandardized beta coefficients, intercepts, and coefficients of determination for male respondents, by race.

	BROCC		FED		MED		SCHP66		MARP68	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
SCHP66	.001(.021)	.003(.143)*	.020(.053)	-.022(-.071)	.002(.009)	.035(.107)	--	--	--	--
MARP68	.020(.131)	.005(.040)	.110(.041)	.173(.095)	.022(.011)	.307(.156)*	.914(.133)*	.091(.015)	--	--
FEX68	.002(.022)	-.004(-.073)	-.031(-.020)	.014(.015)	-.002(-.002)	.018(.018)	.171(.042)	.151(.050)	--	--
EDEX68	.008(.088)	.003(.041)	.208(.128)	.181(.177)*	.172(.145)*	.245(.224)*	.075(.018)	.673(.201)*	--	--
OCEX68	.093(.055)	.142(.121)*	4.732(.161)*	.858(.044)	1.027(.048)	2.341(.113)	8.875(.117)	15.524(.245)*	--	--
EDAT	.000(-.012)	-.001(-.017)	.118(.096)	.032(.033)	.028(.031)	.056(.055)	.1176.037)	.152(.049)	.083(.179)*	.033(.063)
EDEX72	-.008(-.085)	.002(.035)	.128(.082)	.035(.033)	-.019(-.017)	-.023(-.020)	.413(.103)*	.231(.067)	.018(.030)	.036(.062)
OCEX72	-.042(-.024)	.135(.116)*	3.700(.122)	1.305(.069)	-.982(-.044)	-.578(-.028)	2.532(.032)	1.596(.026)	.640(.056)	.530(.031)

*Pr $\leq$ .05

Table 6-6. Standardized and unstandardized beta coefficients, intercepts, and coefficients of determination for female respondents, by race.

	BROCC		FED		MED		SCHP66		MARP68	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
SCHP66	.003(.117)	.001(.041)	.036(.085)	.008(.029)	-.005(-.017)	.056(.153)	--	--	--	--
MARP68	.032(.172)*	.003(.030)	-.131(-.046)	.258(.161)*	.096(.043)	.101(.051)	.031(.008)	.328(.057)	--	--
FEX68	.003(.032)	.005(.093)	.001(.001)	-.033(-.041)	-.007(-.006)	-.053(-.052)	-.019(-.005)	.004(.001)	--	--
EDEX68	.014(.141)	.008(.137)*	-.017(-.011)	.282(.303)*	.127(.111)	.137(.117)	.409(.115)	.560(.169)*	--	--
OCES68	.086(.062)	-.003(-.005)	.333(.016)	2.254(.205)*	2.140(.132)	1.768(.129)	6.296(.086)	.604(.015)	--	--
EDAT	.009(.094)	-.008(-.125)*	.045(.031)	.193(.200)*	.033(.030)	.092(.076)	.116(.035)	.183(.053)	.075(.148)*	.014(.023)
EDEX72	-.003(-.027)	.005(.066)	.056(.035)	-.041(-.037)	.093(.077)	.073(.053)	-.001(-.000)	.279(.070)	-.021(-.037)	.022(.032)
OCEX72	-.173(.116)	.055(.082)	1.269(.055)	-.186(-.017)	.871(.050)	.212(.016)	2.198(.041)	.919(.024)	.129(.016)	-.462(-.069)

* Pr $\leq$ .05

relatively little impact on school program. For White males, only breadwinners' occupation manifested a modest significant effect on school program (B = .143), indicating a tendency for White family members with higher-status occupations to have male children enrolled in college preparatory school programs. The effects of the indicators of socioeconomic status on school program were found not to be significant across all other race-sex categories. These results, taken together with our earlier analysis, suggest that for rural Southern youth, socioeconomic status has relatively inconsequential effects on enrollment in college preparatory school programs.

Turning to the equations in the models for marital and fertility plans, once again we find small proportions of variance explained for these variables by socioeconomic status for all race-sex categories. For the male respondents, the only relationship found to be statistically significant was the effect of mothers' education on marital plans. White males, whose mothers had obtained higher-levels of educational achievement, tended to defer marriage longer than other respondents. For females' marital plans, mothers' education was found to be statistically significant for Whites, while breadwinners' occupation obtained statistical significance for Blacks. Both effects were positive, indicating a modest effect for deferment of marriage. Fertility plans were not predicted by the socioeconomic status indicators. The results in Table 6-5 and 6-6 reveal that none of the indicators of socioeconomic status significantly predicted fertility plans.

For high school educational and occupational plans, substantially larger amounts of variance in these variables were explained for White

respondents. Initially looking at White males, mothers' education (B = .224), tracking (B = .201), and fathers' education (B = .177) manifested significant direct effects on educational plans. In the model for White females, fathers' education (B = .303), tracking (B = .169), and breadwinners' occupation (B = .137) were found to have significant effects on educational plans (Tables 6-5 and 6-6). For respondents, only the effect of mothers' education on males' high school educational plans was found to be significant. Contrasting these variable effects across models for the White respondents reveals a somewhat stronger effect of tracking on males educational plans (b = .673 males; b = .560 females). In contrast, the impact of fathers' education on educational plans was more pronounced for females (b = .282) than males (b = .181).

The equations for occupational expectations revealed some rather interesting results. Overall, the explanatory power of the equations were relatively weak, as small amounts of variance were explained for each control group (Table 6-5 and 6-6). Nonetheless, differential effects were obtained across all four groups. High school tracking manifested a rather strong effect for White males (B = .245; b = 15.524). Enrollment in college preparatory programs resulted in an increase of over 15 units for the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (Duncan, 1961). Although not obtaining significance in the other models, a comparison of unstandardized coefficients found for other control groups suggests the importance of tracking for males, both Black and White, and, to a lesser degree, Black females. The occupational choices of White females were not influenced by track placement. Also for White males, tracking had an effect on occupational plans more than twice the size of

breadwinners' occupation (B = .121 vs B = .245), the only other variable obtaining significance for White males. Only one significant direct effect was found for the occupational plans of White females and Black males, while no variable in the model was statistically significant for Black females. Fathers' education was found to have a significant direct effect for both White females (b = 2.254) and Black males (b = 4.732).

Turning to the next series of equations, educational attainment was found to be one of the dependent variables predicted most efficiently. For the White respondents, approximately 50 percent of the variance in educational achievement was explained for females, in contrast to 37 percent for males. A similar trend was observed for the Black respondents; approximately 32 percent of the variance was explained for females' educational achievement, while only 19 percent of the variance was explained for males' educational achievement. The strongest predictor of educational achievement for White males was educational plans held in high school (B = .432), followed by occupational plans held in high school (B = .154). In contrast, for Black males, educational achievement was predicted primarily by occupational plans held in high school (B = .378), educational plans (B = .171) and marital plans (B = .179).

For the female respondents, the largest direct effects observed for educational attainment were found to be educational plans held in high school. The effect of educational plans was considerably stronger for Whites (b = .568, Whites; b = .234, Blacks). Marital plans manifested a significant direct effect on attainment for Black females, White fathers' education had a significant direct effect for White

females. These results indicate for all race-sex categories the strongest predictor of early educational attainment was educational plans held during the sophomore year in school and, to a lesser degree, for males, occupational plans formed in high school. Across race groups, the importance of postponement of marriage was more significant for the educational achievements of Black youth.

The final variables in the model, occupational and educational plans held after high school graduation, were predicted primarily by educational attainment for all race-sex categories. Approximately 59 percent of the variance in educational plans was explained in the White male model, while approximately 67 percent of the variance was accounted for in the White female model. For the educational plans of the Black respondents, 39 percent and 51 percent of the variance was explained for males and females respectively. In addition to educational attainment, school program (B = .103), educational plans made in high school (B = .221), and occupational plans held in high school (B = .156) all manifested significant direct effects for Black males' post-high school educational plans. For White males, in addition to educational attainment, only educational plans held in high school (B = .323) manifested a significant direct effect on post-high school educational plans. For females, a similar pattern of variable effects was obtained for post-high school educational plans. For White females, educational plans held in high school (B = .227), occupational plans held in high school (B = .108), and educational attainment (B = .538), manifested significant direct effects. For Black females, only high school educational plans (B = .197) and educational attainment (B = .626) was found to be significant.

For post-high school occupational plans, once again educational attainment was found to be the strongest predictor for all race-sex categories. For White males, breadwinners' occupation (B = .116) and high school occupational plans (B = .162) also manifested significant direct effects on post-high school occupational plans. Furthermore, for White females, high school occupational plans (B = .140) had a significant direct effect on post-high school occupational plans. The effects of educational attainment on occupational plans were considerably stronger for the Black respondents. Comparisons of the unstandardized coefficients for educational attainment on occupational plans reveal stronger effects for Black males (b = 9.038) than White males (b = 7.477) and for Black females (b = 7.447) than White females (b = 3.786).

The analysis of indirect effects on educational attainment is presented in Table 6-7. In general, for White males the total effects of the three social origins variables and tracking were mediated primarily by educational and occupational plans. Taken together, educational and occupational plans in high school were found to mediate rather substantial proportions of the total effects of breadwinners' occupation (84%), fathers' education (75%), mothers' education (58%) and tracking (71%). High school educational plans were found to be the primary intervening variable in the educational attainment model. A similar pattern of indirect effects was observed for White females. High school educational plans were observed to mediate 42 percent of the total effect of fathers' education, 37 percent of the total effect of mothers' education and 63 percent of the total effect of school tracking programs. The efficiency of the intervening variables

Table 6-7. Educational Attainment: total effects, indirect effects, direct effects (percentage estimates in parentheses for educational attainment on prior variables in model, by race-sex groups.

	Effects and Control Groups	Total	Indirect x_5	VIA x_6	x_7	x_8	x_9	x_5, x_6	x_5, x_7	x_5, x_8	x_5, x_9	Direct
White Males	BROCC (X1)	.043	.007 (16%)	.002 (5%)	-.002 (-5%)	.018 (42%)	.018 (42%)	a	a	.012 (28%)	.005 (12%)	-.017 (-39%)
	FED (X2)	.110	-.003 (-3%)	.006 (6%)	a	.096 (69%)	.006 (6%)	a	a	-.006 (-6%)	-.002 (-2%)	.003 (30%)
	MED (X3)	.196	.005 (1%)	.010 (5%)	a	.096 (49%)	.017 (9%)	a	a	.009 (5%)	.004 (2%)	.005 (28%)
	Tracking (X4)	.175	a	.001 (1%)	.001 (1%)	.086 (49%)	.018 (22%)	a	a	a	a	.049 (28%)
White Females	BROCC (X1)	-.047	.002 (-1%)	.002 (-1%)	-.004 (8%)	.074 (-157%)	a	a	a	.004 (9%)	a	-.125 (274%)
	FED (X2)	.390	.002 (1%)	.004 (1%)	.002 (1%)	.164 (42%)	.016 (4%)	a	a	.002 (1%)	a	.200 (51%)
	MED (X3)	.175	.008 (5%)	.001 (1%)	.002 (1%)	.064 (37%)	.010 (6%)	a	a	.014 (1%)	a	.076 (43%)
	Tracking (X4)	.147	a	.001 (0%)	a	.092 (63%)	.001 (1%)	a	a	a	a	.053 (36%)
Black Males	BROCC (X1)	.049	a	.023 (47%)	.002 (4%)	.015 (31%)	.020 (41%)	a	a	a	.001 (2%)	-.012 (-25%)
	FED (X2)	.185	-.002 (1%)	.007 (4%)	-.001 (-1%)	.002 (12%)	.060 (32%)	.001 (1%)	a	a	.002 (1%)	.096 (52%)
	MED (X3)	.075	a	.002 (3%)	a	.024 (32%)	.018 (24%)	a	a	a	a	.031 (41%)
	Tracking (X4)	.015	a	.024 (160%)	.003 (20%)	.003 (20%)	.004 (293%)	a	a	a	a	-.059 (-393%)
Black Females	BROCC (X1)	.109	.004 (4%)	.023 (23%)	.001 (1%)	.034 (31%)	.007 (6%)	a	a	.003 (3%)	.001 (1%)	.034 (31%)
	FED (X2)	.030	.003 (1%)	-.006 (-2%)	a	-.002 (-1%)	.002 (1%)	a	a	.002 (1%)	a	.031 (103%)
	MED (X3)	.078	a	.006 (8%)	a	.027 (35%)	.015 (19%)	a	a	a	a	.030 (39%)
	Tracking (X4)	.074	a	.001 (1%)	a	.028 (38%)	.010 (14%)	a	a	a	a	.035 (47%)

was somewhat reduced for females' educational attainment. Substantial proportions of the total effect of fathers' education (51%), mothers' education (43%) and tracking programs (36%) on educational attainment were found to be direct.

The importance of high school educational plans for mediating the influences of the exogenous variables and school tracking programs on educational attainment was found to be reduced for male and female Black respondents. High school occupational plans were found to mediate larger proportions of the observed total effects for Black males when contrasted to other race-sex categories. High school marital plans were found to mediate more of the total effect of breadwinners' occupation (47% for males; 23% for females) on educational attainment for Black respondents. It should be pointed out that the total effects of the exogenous and tracking variables were, overall smaller for Black respondents in contrast to White respondents.

Table 6-8 presents the calculations for the indirect effects of the four endogenous career-related decision variables, operating through educational attainment, on post-high school educational and occupational plans. For White males, educational attainment was found to mediate approximately 30 to 37 percent of the total effect of marital, fertility and educational plans on post-high school educational plans. Approximately 59 percent of the total effect of high school occupational plans on post-high school educational plans was transmitted through educational achievement. For post-high school occupational plans, educational attainment was observed as mediating 32 percent of the total effect of marital plans, 56 percent of the very small total effect of fertility plans, 67 percent of the total

Table 6-8. Total effects, indirect effects and direct effects (percentage estimates in parenthesis) for post high school educational and occupational plans for career-related high school plans on educational attainment.*

	Effects and Control Group	Total	(Educational Plans Indirect VIA Educational Attainment)	Direct	Total	(Occupational Plans Indirect VIA Educational Attainment)	Direct
White Males	Marital Plans	.089	.027 (30%)	.062 (70%)	.075	.024 (32%)	.051 (68%)
	Fertility Plans	.037	.012 (32%)	.025 (68%)	.018	.010 (56%)	.008 (44%)
	Educational Plans	.513	.190 (37%)	.323 (63%)	.243	.162 (67%)	.081 (33%)
	Occupational Plans	.114	.067 (59%)	.047 (41%)	.249	.058 (26%)	.162 (74%)
White Females	Marital Plans	.044	.012 (27%)	.032 (73%)	-.061	.008 a	-.069 a
	Fertility Plans	-.069	-.022 a	-.047 a	-.028	-.014 a	-.014 a
	Educational Plans	.519	.292 (56%)	.227 (44%)	.220	.186 (85%)	.034 (15%)
	Occupational Plans	.149	.041 (28%)	.108 (72%)	.166	.026 (16%)	.140 (84%)
Black Males	Marital Plans	.092	.062 (67%)	.030 (33%)	.122	.066 (54%)	.056 (46%)
	Fertility Plans	.116	.024 (21%)	.092 (79%)	.013	.026 (200%)	-.013 (-100%)
	Educational Plans	.280	.059 (21%)	.221 (79%)	.184	.063 (34%)	.121 (66%)
	Occupational Plans	.286	.130 (46%)	.156 (54%)	.249	.139 (56%)	.110 (44%)
Black Females	Marital Plans	.055	.092 (167%)	-.037 (-67%)	.084	.068 (81%)	.016 (19%)
	Fertility Plans	-.022	.024 a	-.026 a	.110	.018 (16%)	.092 (84%)
	Educational Plans	.351	.154 (44%)	.197 (56%)	.213	.114 (54%)	.099 (46%)
	Occupational Plans	.035	.070 (200%)	-.035 (-100%)	.140	.052 (37%)	.088 (63%)

* Percentage estimates omitted for negative total effects

a Indirect effect = 0, or indirect calculation inappropriate

effect of educational plans and 26 percent of the total effect of occupational plans.

For White females, educational attainment was found to mediate substantial proportions of the total effect of high school educational plans on post-high school educational plans. Fifty-six percent of the total effect of high school educational plans on post-high school educational plans was transmitted through educational attainment, while 85 percent of the total effect of high school educational plans on post-high school occupational plans was mediated by educational achievements. For the White respondents, in general, and White females, specifically, educational achievements provide an important link between educational plans formed in school and post-high school educational and occupational expectations. The effect of high school occupational plans appears to operate more directly on post-high school educational and occupational decisions.

In contrast to the data presented for Whites, for the Black respondents, educational attainment was found to mediate the effects of high school marital plans on post-high school educational and occupational plans. Considerations for delaying marital behavior apparently increases levels of educational achievement among Black youth of both sexes, which has consequences for post-high school decisions regarding future educational and occupational plans. The effect of high school educational plans on post-high school educational plans was primarily direct for both Black males (79%) and Black females (56%). Approximately half of the total effect of high school occupational plans on post-high school occupational plans was transmitted by educational achievement for Black males. For Black females, the

effect of high school occupational plans on post-high school educational plans was indirect through educational attainment. However the small total effect of this relationship should be pointed out. Approximately 37 percent of the total effect of high school occupational plans on post-high school occupational plans was mediated by educational attainment for Black females. In sum, educational achievement appears to mediate the effects of high school educational plans on post-high school educational plans more for females than males, while mediating the effects of high school marital plans on post-high school educational and occupational plans more for Black than White youth.

At this stage of our analysis several general patterns appear to characterize the educational achievement process of southern rural youth. These results can be summarized as follows:

(1) Social origins (socioeconomic status, sex, race) have relatively minor consequences for placement in high school tracking programs.
(2) Marital plans of respondents are influenced by race and sex considerations; Black and male youth tend to defer marital plans longer than White and female youth. Black male respondents in college prep programs, Black female respondents from heads of families with high status occupations, White males with mothers achieving high educational levels and White females with fathers achieving high educational levels, all tend to defer marriage plans longer into the future.
(3) Educational and occupational plans of White respondents were influenced more by school tracking programs and the socioeconomic status variables than those of the Black respondents. Black and male respondents had higher level educational plans, while females had higher-status occupational plans.

(4) Educational achievement was influenced primarily by high school educational and occupational plans. However, whites and males tended to achieve higher levels of education than blacks and females. Marital plans had an important influence on the educational achievements of the black respondents.
(5) Post-high school educational and occupational plans were influenced primarily by high school educational and occupational plans and educatinonal achievements. However, Blacks still maintained higher-level educational plans, while females had higher-status occupational plans after high school.
(6) Educational and occupational plans in high school were found to be important intervening variables for educational achievement, transmitting effects of social origin and school tracking to achievement. Educational achievement was observed as an important intervening variable for post-high school educational and occupational plans.

These findings provide one basis to make inferences regarding the process of educational achievement in the rural South. Apparently social origins and school tracking programs influence the formation of career plans by the sophomore year of high school. These expectations regarding education and occupation appear to be very important determinants of actual achievement with one exception--Black respondents. Although Black youth have higher-level plans for their educational future, their actual achievements do not coincide with educational plans even in the post-high school years. This finding points to the potential for future social frustration, or just as important, a persistent faith in education for a better future.

An additional finding worthy of further scrutiny relates to the fact that females have higher-status occupational plans than males both in the high school years and after high school graduation. In order to clarify these findings, along with a basis for providing

additional interpretations of the results of our causal analysis, indices of dissimilarity were calculated for all measures of occupation by race and sex groups.[2] These data will be supplemented by a detailed inspection of descriptive statistics.

Indices of Dissimilarity were computed for all measures of occupation utilized in this study. For each of these seven measures the ID

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[2]Many alternative indexes have been proposed to measure the degree of segregation of various groups, usually by race, in housing, occupations, income and the like (Duncan and Duncan,). The basic notion behind the index is a summary measure of the extent to which the distribution of two groups on some variable are dissimilar (or similar), given an assumption that each would be equally distributed given no discrimination in the area under scrutiny. There have been numerous criticisms of the index and its various modifications as applied to housing and income distributions. The basic criticism of the index has revolved around its use in isolation of other relevant data. We will overcome this deficiency by utilizing descriptive statistics to explain the implications of the ID. Obviously, we cannot utilize the full richness of complete frequency distributions, but we will consult such statistics at various points in the analysis. A caveat concerning our use of the index concerns a large number of categories (98) and relatively small group sizes (N's vary from 202 to 364). However, we maintain that the results when interpreted with caution are relevant and provide useful insight into heretofore unexplored aspects of occupational aspirations and expectations of several race/sex groups. The formula for the Index of Dissimilarity (henceforth referred to as ID) is

$$ID = (100)\ (1/2)\ (\Sigma|N_i|N - W_i|W|),$$

where i = Duncan SEI Occupational Score;

N_i = Number of persons in comparison group in SEI Score i;

$N = \Sigma N_i$ = total number of persons in comparison group;

W_i = Number of persons in base group in SEI Score i;

$W = \Sigma W_i$ = total number of persons in base group.

The ID thus defined will be a summary measure of divergence between the two group distributions. An index score of 0 (zero) indicates no segregation by occupational category and a score of 100 incicates absolute segregation.

was computed with a base group that is usually considered to occupy a favored position in American society, viz., Blacks to Whites, females to males, and all race-sex subgroups to White males. The results are presented in Table 6-9.

Numerous suppositions concerning race-sex costs relative to the occupational structure of the respondents origins and future aspirations and expectations can be clarified with this matrix of IDs. Although the data contained in the matrix of IDs shown in Table 6-9 will allow for an assessment of the occupational choice patterns, one must turn to descriptive statistics and frequency distributions to assess which groups are more or less disadvantaged relative to the Duncan SEI (Table 6-10).

Race and Breadwinners' Occupation

The first column of ID's in Table 6-9 presents the divergence of breadwinners' occupations (BROCC). The findings provide support for basic interpretations in the literature reviews of preceeding chapters (i.e., Chapter II). The Black-White ID of 48.6 indicates that nearly one-half of the Black breadwinners would have to change occupations to be identical to the distribution of White breadwinners. The more detailed statistics in Table 6-10 reveal that Blacks are considerably disadvantaged in terms of social origin (as measured by BROCC). Although the maximum value for breadwinners' occupation for Whites is only six points higher than that for Blacks, the White mean and median are almost twice that of Blacks. A more detailed analysis of the distribution indicates that Blacks are much more highly concentrated in certain occupations. Blacks report only 44 categories of the Duncan

Table 6-9. Index of dissimilarity for Breadwinner's Occupation (BROCC), Respondent's Occupational Aspirations (OCAS68 and OCAS72), and Respondent's Occupational Expectations (OCEX68 and OCEX72).[a]

Comparison Group	Control Group	BROCC	OCAS68	OCEX68	OCAS72	OCEX72
Black	White	48.6	29.2	35.8	30.3	36.9
Female	Male	25.8	65.6	69.6	58.2	64.8
Black Male	White Male	48.6	37.6	44.6	33.4	40.2
Black Female	White Male	54.0	69.4	65.5	65.5	62.8
White Female	White Male	25.5	67.4	77.6	60.4	77.0
Female	White Male	30.8	67.2	70.2	60.4	67.0
Black	White Male	49.7	43.7	49.5	39.1	43.6

[a]The index of dissimilarity is an index of the percent change in the comparison group needed to achieve parity with the control group. For example, the index of 48.6 in the upper left hand extreme of the matrix indicates that 48.6% of black's breadwinner's occupation (BROCC) would have to change to become similar with white's breadwinner occupation.

SEI as compared to 75 for Whites.

While the above findings may not be surprising, more subtle disadvantages for Blacks can be detected when we analyze a more mundane statistic--the percentage of missing data. In every subgroup comparison Blacks, as a group or as specific race-sex category, have a larger percentage of missing data on breadwinners' occupation than their White counterparts. Further, missing data comprises an even larger category of response than the modal category. When we consider that Black response to breadwinners' occupation are much more highly concentrated than Whites, this outcome takes on added significance. There are both substantive and methodological implications that need clarification. Among the possibilities for these inordinate missing percentages are:

1) Lack of knowledge about the occupation of an absent (completely or frequently) breadwinner

2) Lack of a regularly employed breadwinner in the household

3) More confusion among Black respondents relative to wording of the question

4) More responses by Blacks were not amenable to coding within the Duncan SEI

Notwithstanding the various statistical techniques researchers have utilized to include (by assigning mean values or what have you) missing information (or alternatively totally excluding them from their models), it is obvious that missing data may tell us much about certain aspects of Black-White comparison as elaborate path models. More detailed probing of Black respondents on these issues at time of interview may be more enlightening than <u>post hoc</u> statistical manipulations.

Sex Comparisons

The Female-Male ID of 25.8 shown in Table 6-9 is somewhat surprising. A priori one would assume that males and females derive from identical or very similar origins, which would be reflected by an ID of zero. The more detailed statistics in Table 6-10 reveal that males tend to report more occupational categories, higher SEI categories, and more missing data. Although these tendencies may produce some of the difference reflected by the ID of 25.8, analyses provided below of male-female divergence in aspiration and expectation indicate that differential perception of occupations may also be a factor.

Race-Sex Comparisons

Contrasts by race-sex categories on the ID shown in Table 6-9 and the detailed data in Table 6-10 provide some interesting patterns. The largest difference observed was between breadwinners' occupation (54.0) reported in the Bladk female-White male sub-group. The statistics in Table 6-10 yield some clues to the differences. Although it was noted above that males tended to report higher BROCC scores, the sub-group comparisons reveal that this is a result of Black male responses. On measures of central tendency, White females and Black males report higher scores on BROCC. The measure reflecting the most difference is the mode. The only two modal categories across all comparisons are categories 6 and 14. Although these reflect numerous occupations, we assume, due to the rural nature of our sample, that the most frequent responses concern farm laborers (6) and farm owners and tenants (14). Therefore, an important part of the differences among the comparison

Table 6-10. Descriptive statistics for breadwinner's occupation (BROCC), respondents' occupational aspirations, 1968 and 1972 (OCAS68 and OCAS72), respondents' occupational expectations, 1968 and 1972 (OCEX68 and OCEX72) by race, sex and race/sex subgroup.

BROCC	Black	44	6	18.1	16	6	17.4	10.7
	White	75	13	33.8	32	14	3.8	14.9
	Female	67	10	26.8	19	14	8.8	11.3
	Male	70	10	27.4	21	14	10.2	14.1
	Black Male	39	7	19.4	18	14	19.1	10.2
	White Male	67	12	32.8	25	14	4.3	16.8
	Black Female	34	7	16.7	15	6	15.2	13.9
	White Female	64	13	35.3	34	14	3.3	12.1
OCAS68	Black	59	10	51.7	52	46	4.7	9.2
	White	69	12	57.8	62	61	3.3	9.6
	Female	45	4	55.5	61	61	2.3	20.8
	Male	70	13	54.9	62	19	5.1	6.6
	Black Male	53	10	50.6	52	19	6.5	10.2
	White Male	62	14	57.9	63	62	4.1	5.2
	Black Female	31	4	53.0	60	46	2.5	19.3
	White Female	40	4	57.6	61	61	2.1	23.8
OCEX68	Black	57	10	47.0	58	61	10.3	10.5
	White	71	11	53.0	65	97	9.4	11.4
	Female	45	3	52.2	61	61	3.6	21.3
	Male	69	15	48.5	62	72	14.3	6.1
	Black Male	47	11	42.8	45	19	14.6	9.4
	White Male	64	16	52.3	64	72	14.0	5.5
	Black Female	36	4	52.0	61	61	5.0	22.8
	White Female	32	3	54.2	67	97	2.5	28.8
OCAS72	Black	66	11	51.0	53	62	0.9	10.3
	White	69	11	57.0	61	72	1.8	10.1
	Female	54	5	56.1	61	61	1.1	19.0
	Male	70	14	53.2	54	14	1.6	5.4
	Black Male	57	12	9.8	9	15	1.6	6.5
	White Male	61	13	55.5	62	14	1.6	7.4
	Black Female	41	5	52.4	61	61	0.0	21.8
	White Female	43	4	59.1	61	72	2.1	19.2
OCEX72	Black	65	13	40.7	44	72	3.3	7.6
	White	73	9	50.4	61	97	1.7	12.6
	Female	50	3	49.6	61	97	1.8	19.7
	Male	73	14	43.9	44	19	2.8	6.1
	Black Male	57	11	37.9	31	19	3.3	8.5
	White Male	65	15	47.9	62	14	2.5	6.6
	Black Female	41	7	44.2	61	61	3.5	13.4
	White Female	36	2	54.3	68	97	0.4	31.7

of IDs in Table 6-9 are a result of Black females reporting breadwinners as farm laborers whereas all other subgroups report farm owner or tenant. This perceptual difference is perhaps as important as the statistical difference.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations by Race

The ID's for 1968 and 1972 for occupational aspirations between Blacks and Whites are relatively small and remain about constant. Although thirty percent of the Black respondents' job aspirations would have to change to be identical with Whites, this is considerably smaller than the difference observed between their social origins (BROCC-48.6) and slightly higher than the difference found between the sexes on social origin (25.8). The descriptive statistics and measures of concentration also reveal a trend of closure between Black and White aspirations. Although Whites are still in an advantaged position on all measures of central tendency, the difference is much smaller than the differences in social origins. Further, the range of options are nearly identical in terms of numbers of categories chosen and measures of concentration.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations by Sex

The ID's between sexes for 1968 and 1972 support arguments made throughout the career-choice literature that females and males have different types of career aspirations. However, the magnitude of difference is surprising. Even more surprising is that the female measures of central tendency are higher in most comparisons. Although the range of choices is nearly identical, the key to the difference

between sexes is in the measures of concentration. Females aspire to considerably fewer categories of occupations and over 50 percent are concentrated in only four categories in 1968 and five in 1972 compared to thirteen and fourteen categories respectively for males. Further, the modal choices category for females is three to four times as large as the modal choice category for males. A more detailed examination of the nature of female choices will be provided in terms of occupational plans.

Race-Sex Comparisons

Examination of the various race-sex subgroups ID's reveals that race is considerably less important than sex. Although, Black females have larger ID's at both dates than White females, the differences are small relative to the overall female-male scores. Again, the major difference is that females, both Black and White, are highly concentrated in a few occupational categories.

Comparisons of Occupational Plans by Race

The ID's for occupational expectations in both 1968 and 1972 increased more than six points relative to aspirations for the same time period. Again, the range of choices for Blacks and Whites was nearly identical, but the measures of central tendency revealed a distinct White advantage that increased over time. Further the modal category gives considerable insight into the nature of race-sex differences. The modal category for Whites at both dates is 97 (housewife-no included in Duncan's SEI and not included here in derivation of the mean and median). Therefore, we have a situation in which

Whites as a group expect to be housewives more often than any other occupational category, and this category is not operational under Duncan's standard SEI scheme. Therefore, the single most important difference between Blacks and Whites may have been ignored in past research or was relegated to missing data treatments. The housewife category adds almost four times as much difference to the ID's as any other difference between Blacks and Whites (11.4 percent versus 3.3 percent for the other largest category).

Comparisons of Occupational Plans by Sex

The pattern of large ID's between males and females noted for aspirations is more apparent for expectation in 1968 and 1977. These ID's range from 62.8 (Black females--White male, OCEX72) to 77.6 (White female--White male, OCEX68). Contrary to what might be expected, females have a higher mean SEI score at both dates and a higher (1972) or nearly identical median score. However, the critical measures here are the mode, mode category percent, and percent of missing data. The data indicate that females make their decisions regarding occupational plans earlier than males (3.6 versus 14.3 percent missing data in 1968 but only 1.8 versus 2.8 percent in 1972) and, perhaps more importantly, females (both Blacks and White) reveal a much greater tendency to gravitate toward a very few occupational categories. The data in Table 6-10 revealed that one-half or more of female occupational aspirations and expectations focus on only three to five categories. Males, on the other hand, show a much wider range of choices evidenced by taking thirteen to fifteen categories to cover one-half of their distribution. A more detailed analysis of these differences will be

presented below in the race-sex comparisons.

Contrary to what might be expected, the measures of central tendency for females are higher than males in 9 of 12 comparisons (Table 6-10). However, the differences are not large in most instances and appear to be the result of the tendency for a large percentage of females to focus on only a few occupational categories with relatively high SEI scores. For example, the female modal occupational category was 61 in three of the four areas of occupational aspirations and expectations. Further, for post-high school occupational plans, the only exception--category 61--was the second-highest [chosen] category behind category 97 ("housewife" category not included in computation of mean and median). Finally, the female modal category was three to four times as large as the male modal category in every comparison.

Comparisons by Race and Sex

Although it is surprising that the ID's fo the male-female comparison for occupational expectations are so large, even more surprising is that when controlled for race, we see that the greatest difference is between White females and males. An inspection of the data in Table 6-11 clarifies these results. An examination of the percentage of the top four occupational choices for aspirations and expectations for both Black and White females reveals that fifty percent of more (except Black females, OCEX72) of the female choices are focused on these categories. Even more surprising is the tremendous amount of similarity in the categories. For one comparison (OCAS68) Black and White females shared exactly the same top four choices, and they shared three of their top four choices on all other measures

Table 6-11. Duncan SEI scores and cumulative percent for the four most frequently reported categories of Occupational Aspirations (OCAS68 and OCAS72) and Occupational Expectations (OCEX68 and OCEX72) for black and white females.

Race/Sex Category	OCAS68		OCEX68		OCAS72		OCEX72	
	Duncan SEI Scores	Cumulative Percent	Duncan SEI Scores	Cumulative Percent	Duncan SEI Scores	Cumulative Percent	Duncan SEI Scores	Cumulative Percent
Black Female	46		61		61		61	
	61		72		46		44	
	72		46		72		72	
	17	51.9	52	53.0	64	49.5	46	41.6
White Female	61		97		72		97	
	72		61		61		61	
	46		72		46		72	
	17	56.8	46	71.7	97	51.7	46	73.4

(OCES68, OCAS72, and OCEX72). For White females more than fifty percent of the distribution on occupational expectations were focused on only two categories. The occupational title for these major choices are shown in Table 6-12. Although we did not examine the original questionnaires, the percentage of the nation's labor force and percentage female for each category shown in Table 6-12 provides some information regarding which choices were most likely. The four major shared categories (17, 46, 61, and 72) are probably best represented by hair dressers and cosmotologists (17); professional nurses (46); typists, stenographers, and secretaries (61); and teachers (72). These, of course, are considered "traditional" female occupations. The major difference between Black and White females is in the category "housewife." White females expected to be housewives far more than any other category of occupation whereas this was an infrequently chosen category for Black females.

In summary, the major findings of the ID analysis were:

1) Black and White social origins (as measured by BROCC) are considerably dissimilar as reflected by the ID of 48.6. However, the difference in ID's for Black and White respondents' own occupational aspirations and expectations are considerably smaller, especially in terms of aspirations.
2) Female and male ID's for aspirations and expectations are much larger than those for Blacks and Whites. Sex, therefore, is more important than race in the determination of differences in occupational aspirations and expectations. Further, the single most important difference between Blacks and Whites is the occupational category "housewife." This category is not operational in the Duncan SEI and is given inadequate treatment in most research. Finally, females have a much greater tendency to focus on a very few occupational categories, and these are usually considered to be "traditional" female pursuits.

Table 6-12. Duncan SEI category of most frequently chosen female occupational aspiration and/or expectation, the percentage of the nation's labor force in the category, the percentage of the category that is female, and the occupational titles of the categories.

Duncan SEI Category	% Nation	% Female	Occupation
17	*	8.0	office & store machines & devices
	0.4	44.0	farm laborers, unpaid family workers
	0.0	45.0	watchmen (crossing) & bridge tenders
	0.5	89.0	hairdressers & cosmotologists
	0.3	71.0	counter & fountain workers
	0.3	3.0	barbers
	0.1	10.0	public administration
	0.3	28.0	wholesale & retail trade
	0.1	33.0	paperboard containers, boxes
	0.1	61.0	misc. fab. tex. products
	0.2	2.0	blast furnaces, steel works & rolling mills
	0.3	16.0	stone, clay & glass products
	3.2	21.0	durable goods
	0.1	1.0	stationary firemen
	1.0	94.0	sewers & stitchers
	0.1	68.0	graders, sorters, manuf.
	0.8	46.0	checkers, examiners, & inspectors, manual
44	1.1	45.0	assemblers
46	0.0	91.0	milliners
	0.0	1.0	construction
	0.9	98.0	nurses, professional
61	0.8	4.0	wholesale trade
	0.8	93.0	typists
	0.4	96.0	stenographers
	2.3	97.0	secretaries
	0.1	5.0	hardware, farm impl., & building materials, retail
	0.3	7.0	manufacturing
72	0.1	4.0	federal public adm. & postal serv.
	0.4	23.0	buyers & dept. heads, store
	2.6	72.0	teachers
97	*	*	housewife

* Not a Duncan SEI category; no figures available on percentage of nation's labor force or percentage female.

Conclusions

Although the findings and discussion presented in this and previous chapters will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, some general statements regarding the formation of career plans and educational achievement can be made for Southern rural youth. Inequality in schooling is a major issue in contemporary education. In this chapter we have attempted to identify sources of inequality for educational achievement and career-related decisions, both in high school and after high school graduation. The findings regarding the relatively minor impact of socioeconomic status considerations and race and sex for placement in high school tracking programs suggests that rural youth are not necessarily tracked by overt social origin considerations. These results appear to be quite similar to those reported recently by Rehberg and Rosenthal (1978) for urban and suburban youth. Other factors, such as scholastic ability, reference group encouragement and academic performance may be operating in rural areas, as has been demonstrated for urban youth (Rehberg and Rosenthal, 1978). Data on school-related achievements and reference group influence of rural youth would provide a more definitive assessment of this contention.

The findings presented in this chapter also reveal that occupational and educational plans formed in high school are important decisions for educational achievement and subsequent plans for education and occupation. Educational plans formed in high school are influenced by a variety of factors, including race, sex, and for White respondents, school track location. Black respondents' revealed a tendency to have high-level educational plans both during high school and after high

school graduation, despite the fact that in terms of educational attainment, Black respondents did not achieve as much as their White counterparts. The source and limits of these plans for achievement in higher education need to be specified in terms of future inquiries of rural youth. The consequences of a continued gap between actual plans and achievements in higher education for Southern rural Blacks cannot be accurately predicted at this time. However, the possibilities of frustration and/or achievement need to be carefully assessed in order to arrive at a better understanding of what type of career futures these young adults will be eventually moving into.

Apparently, Black youth who achieve higher levels of education tend to postpone marriage longer and have plans for college attendance. Given the fact that high school educational plans are stronger predictors of the educational achievements of Whites, the conversion of high school educational plans to actual achievement may be related to other social decisions for rural Black youth. Again, more comprehensive data on this topic is needed for understanding the educational situation of rural Blacks.

Finally, the rather high-status occupational plans of females appear to be a consequence of career-choice segregation, or occupational socialization. White females apparently are more oriented toward becoming a "housewife" than Black females. Nonetheless, the occupational choices of both Black and White females tend to reflect "traditional" female jobs rather than more male-oriented, non-traditional jobs. The relatively weaker impact of educational achievement of females on their post-high school career plans suggests that female occupational choices are made sooner in the life-cycle--implying that

occupational behavior will be just as limited for rural women in the future.

In conclusion, the early educational achievements and occupational plans of Southern rural youth suggest a continuation of higher educational credentials being achieved by males and Whites, thereby providing a basis for a variety of high-status occupational achievements in future years. The relative inability of Blacks to gain educational achievements beyond high school and the restricted range of occupational choices for females portends continued race-sex occupational segregation among rural youth of this generation.

Chapter VII

OVERVIEW AND IMPLICATIONS

Arthur G. Cosby
Ivan Charner

In the pages of this research monograph, we have collectively investigated the types of career and career-related preferences that rural youth make and then estimated the degree to which these choices were then translated into actual adult behaviors. Our effort has been to trace the life cycle development of a sample of Southern youth who had graduated from high school in 1968 through the first four years of their post-high school attainment experiences. The focus has been on choices expressed and attainments experienced in respect to the areas of education, occupation, marriage, fertility, residence, and military service. As a strategy for understanding the complexities of differential attainment and inequities, a search was carried out in every phase of the analysis for possible sex and race variation. It was our hope that this approach would capture a number of important aspects of the transition from adolescence to adulthood at the point where preferences and choices were beginning to be transformed into adult social roles.

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This overview chapter will not consist of a detailed interpretation of the many findings, but rather will stress a few major outcomes. When considering the results of this study, it should be recalled that the analysis was guided by a complex model of status achievement. This model depicts a chain of life cycle influences beginning with parental social origins and ending with adult, career and career-related attitudes and attainments. The significance of any single result does not stand alone but can best be understood within the dynamics of the overall process. Therefore, it was not simply that a given attitude was found to be generally of a high state during adolescence rather, of more significance was the critical process question of the ability or lack of ability to translate these into behavior.

Social Origins and School Tracking

- Social origins were found to have only modest consequences for early adult educational attainment.
- Following historic patterns of race and sex disparity in educational attainment, White students and male students tended to realize higher levels of post-high school education.
- Social origins (social class, sex and race) were found to have only a minor impact upon placement in a college or academic track program.
- Placement in a college or academic track was found to have only a slight effect upon subsequent college attendence.

The model begins by examining the effects of a broad set of social origin indicators (breadwinner's occupation, father's education, mother's education, race, and sex) on levels of early educational

attainment. Our analysis indicates that these influences, taken singularly or together, had low predictability in estimating achievement levels. Only about 13% of the variation in early education levels was explained by these influences combined. When school tracking was introduced as an intervening influence between social origins and educational attainment, only a slight improvement in prediction of about 3% was obtained. These findings were not anticipated since prior research on other populations have found social origins and tracking to have substantially more effect on attainment.

There are several possibilities that could account for the weak effects of social origins and tracking. First, there may be certain features about education in the rural areas that would decrease the importance of such influences. We can note, for example, that socioeconomic status of parents was relatively homogeneous in the SYS data. Parental levels of educational and occupational attainment was concentrated in the low and middle ranges of the status continuum. Attainment levels for Black parents were especially homogeneous since they were almost uniformly restricted to the lower status category. Put another way, the Black middle class is only a small part of the rural Black population. Hense, given the restricted nature of socioeconomic status in the SYS data, it was impossible to provide a test that assessed the effect of the full range of variation implied by these variables.

Although admittedly on a subjective bases, there is good reason to question the social meaning and the accuracy of school tracking responses. Even though considerable variation in participation in

vocational, general and academic programs was recorded, it was highly unlikely that these academic options were in actuality available in many of the SYS schools. About one half of the students were attending small schools where the senior class numbered less than fifty students. In some schools, the senior class had less than ten students. It is difficult to imagine that such small and often poor schools could develop multiple tracks and if they did it is questionable whether they would be effective. For this reason, it appears that tracking responses were most likely a mixture of actual tracking (where tracking existed) and measurement error (where tracking was not provided). Lacking sufficient data to evaluate this possibility, it is perhaps prudent to consider the results on tracking as a weak test of its consequences for educational attainment.

Adolescent Preferences

- Career and career-related preferences for higher status achievement characterize adolescent responses for all sex and race groups in the SYS reflecting a strong general endorsement of traditional success themes of higher educational and occupational attainment.
- Career and career-related preferences as attitudes were related to behavior observed years later. Moderate linkages were found between preferences for education, marriage, residence, and military service with the corresponding early adult behavior.
- In general, an "imperfect ceiling effect" was observed between attitudes and behaviors where higher level attitudes tended to intersect with either high or low attainment whereas lower level attitudes tended to intersect primarily with low attainment and only rarely with high attainment.

- Preferences for post-high school education emerged as the dominant influence and single best predictor of subsequent educational attainment.
- The desire for early marriage tended to predict the timing of marriage.
- Fertility desires stood alone as the only preference type considered that was not associated with either its corresponding behavior (levels of actual childbirth) or with the complex of achievement variables.
- Residence preferences were more difficult to enact by the early adult period and the desire for rural farm residence, even among a rural sample, was especially difficult to obtain.
- Preferences for military service had only a modest association with actual participation.

When considered together, the cluster of career and career-related preferences observed at the senior year reflects a strong endorsement of the American success themes of higher level educational and occupational achievement. For example, the overwhelming response in all sex and race categories was aspirations and expectations for college training. Occupational responses were of a similar high status nature, with the majority of responses falling in the upper half of the Duncan socio-economic index. This result takes on added significance when it is considered that the pattern held for all four sex and race groups, even rural Black youth, were expressing mainstream American success orientations in spite of severe problems of backgrounds and opportunity. Such data clearly counters the contention that lower achievement among rural youth results from the lack of aspirations or ambition. Rather it seems that rural youth, even the more disadvantaged, are participating social psychologically in the "American Success Dream" if not in terms of actual behavior or attainment.

As types of attitudes, career and career-related preferences were found to moderately predict subsequent early adult behaviors: i.e., educational preferences were found to predict educational attainment; marriage plans were found to predict early marriage; residential preferences were found to predict actual residence; and military service preferences were found to predict military service. This finding points to career and career-related preferences as one of the few categories of attitudes that can be emperically related to corresponding behaviors. This transferal or enactment of preferences into actual behaviors takes on added significance since it occurred over a considerable period of time (four years after high school). As such, career and career-related preferences can be identified as candidates for programatic intervention. Presumably, programs that improve the quality of career and career-related preferences could operate indirectly through this relationship impact upon actual attainments and achievements.

A paradox remains. If rural youth, even the more disadvantaged, tend to hold high career preferences that reflect the "American success theme" and if these preferences do predict subsequent career attainments, why do rural youth, especially rural minorities, still experience low career attainments? The answer to this question lies in an examination of the strength and nature of the relationships. First, the strength of the relationships ranged from moderate to weak indicating that the transferal or enactment was only a partial one. Substantial numbers were unable to enact their desires. Second, a relationship results from covariation and not necessarily from a one to one

correspondence of attitude and behavior levels. For example, a correlation can be obtained if students with high level preferences tend to have higher attainment than students with low level preferences even if the exact preferences are not realized.

The notion of "imperfect ceiling effect" was adopted to describe the pattern of the relationship between preferences and behaviors. It refers to the situation where the preference level tends to set a maximum or ceiling on attainment levels, i.e., higher level preferences tend to intersect with either high or low attainment whereas lower preferences tend to intersect with lower attainment and only rarely with higher attainment. Within this context, adolescent career and career-related preferences approximate a necessary (though obviously not sufficient) prerequisite for later attainment. This pattern was clearest for the enactment of adolescent desires to attend a senior college or university. For example, of the 502 SYS students who desired to attend a senior college, 48% had done so four years later; whereas of the 463 students who expressed preferences for vocational/technical or junior college, only 5% went to senior college; and of the 87 students who wished to terminate their education with high school graduation, only a slight 1% went on to senior college. Thus, the preference for college, developed during adolescence, emerges as an important condition for college attendence if not a perfect predictor.

Early Adult Behavior and Preferences

- Educational Attainment in early adulthood was strongly influenced by career and career-related preferences developed years earlier in high school.

- There appeared to be a continuing reciprocal and complementary relationship between educational attitudes and educational attainment where there was a continuing process of attitudes leading to attainments and attainment in turn to the maintenance and reformulation of attitudes.

- Preferences for higher level educational and occupational attainment tended to encourage educational attainment while preferences for early marriage tended to depress attainment.

- Early adult career and career-related preferences in the aggregate did not differ greatly from those observed in high school indicating the continued endorsement of the "success theme" even though many were experiencing difficulties in attainment.

- Adult Preferences for education were both high and slightly greater than that observed during high school. Occupational aspirations remained at about the same level while occupational expectations decreased modestly.

Early adult educational attainment was influenced strongly by the complex of career and career-related variables. Educational preferences had the dominant influence followed by occupational preferences and marriage plans. High level educational and occupational preferences acted as facillitators while preference for an early marriage tended to depress attainment. The general process, as well as the relative order of influences among variables held for all race and sex groupings.

Now turning attention to educational and occupational preferences observed during early adulthood, we extended the general attitude to behavior analysis to a three phase flow from adolescent attitudes to early adult behavior to early adult attitudes. A careful evaluation of the direct and indirect influences among these variables (Chapter VI) lead to two general patterns. First, there appeared to be a continuing

reciprocal and complementary relationship between career and career-related preferences and educational attainment where attitudes influenced attainment and attainment in turn influenced the maintenance and reformulation of new attitudes. Second, and at the same time, there appeared to be a direct effect of adolescent preferences on adult preferences that was independent of early adult attainment indicating a maintenance of attitudes even in the presence of early "failure." If these two outcomes are combined, the following process is implied. Rural high school seniors generally hold preferences for high level educational and occupational attainment. Many of these are able to enact their preferences into higher level educational attainment which acts to reinforce and maintain high status preferences during early adulthood. Many seniors, however, do not enact their preferences yet are still able to maintain them into the adult period when opportunities for higher educational attainment were diminishing.

Related to the above finding of continued maintenance of high status preference was the observation that early adult career and career-related preferences, in the aggregate, did not differ greatly from those obtained in the high school senior data. Early adult preferences for education represented even a slight increase over the same measure in the senior year. Occupational aspiration levels were about the same at each period while occupational expectations decreased slightly. These outcomes seriously bring into question the developmentalist notion of "increasing realism and crystilization of choice" as a feature of the early adult period. There was little in a comparison of the SYS senior year and early adult data that indicated a

basic realignment of career and career-related preference levels with actual opportunities for attainment.

Sex Differences

- Sex appears to be a substantially more important social origin variable in the actual content of occupational preferences than either race or socioeconomic status.
- Although female occupational preferences were of relatively high status as measured by the Duncan SEI Index, there was a consistent trend during both the senior year and post-high school periods for women to select a few highly restricted occupations that are generally considered "traditional female pursuits." Males, in contrast, expressed considerably more and varied occupational choices.
- The female selection of "housewife" as an occupational choice was much more likely to be expressed as an expectation than as an aspiration.
- Although early marital plans were found to depress the educational attainment levels of both male and female, the negative effects were considerably greater for women.

Although the overall process of career development for rural women did not generally appear to diverge from that of the males in the SYS, two fundamental differences can be noted that possibly have far reaching impact. The first of these is the often cited sex differences in the content of occupational preferences. While hierarchial or status measures of occupational preferences usually result in similar scores for men and women, an examination of the actual types of occupations selected lead to an entirely different interpretation. Such a pattern was clearly evident in the SYS data. Rural men tend to select a large number of occupations as both aspirations and expectations that range along the entire status continuum. Female aspirations and

expectations, on the other hand, tended to be restricted to a few occupational types located in the middle of the status continuum that could be easily classified as "traditional female pursuits." Such choices as teacher, secretary, nurse, beautician and "housewife" typify female responses. This tendency for sex typed responses was strong in both the senior and post-high school periods. Interestingly, the "housewife" response was more apt to be given as an expectation rather than as an aspiration. As high school seniors, about 3% of the white females desired to be "housewives" while about 29% expected to have "housewife" as an occupation. These responses suggest a pattern of resignation to traditional female roles.

The second difference between male and female patterns was the effects of marital plans on educational attainment. While plans for early marriage tended to depress attainment for both sexes, the negative effects were more costlier for women. The depressing effects for women were of about twice the magnitude of that for men. This supports the not too surprising contention that men were considerably more able to reconcile early marriage and post-high school educational attainment while women needed to defer marriage in order to achieve additional education.

Both the patterns of sex-related differences in the content of occupational preferences and the differential sex-related effects of marital plans points to special career development problems of women similar to that reported for other non-rural populations. It is obvious that familial influences are of considerable more significance for women within the context of traditional sex-typed attainment

processes and that programs designed to enhance women's educational and occupational attainment need to be sensitive to the importance of familial influences in their design.

Race Differences

- At every phase in the process, Blacks were less able to transmit attainment linked advantages to the next phase.
- Black parents were less able to transmit advantages of socio-economic status to their children's educational attainment.
- The educational attitudes of Blacks were influenced less by school tracking and social class than the attitudes of Whites.
- Although the career and career-related preferences of Whites and Blacks were similar, Black students were generally less able to enact their preferences as actual behavior.
- The sharpest race difference in occupational choices was between Black and White females. Substantial numbers of White women expressed a desire or expectation to become a "housewife" whereas this response was rarely given by Black women.
- Black rural students were more likely at both the senior year and early adult period to hold residential preferences (in effect migration preferences) for urban residence.

At almost every phase in the analysis, important differences in the career decision processes were noted between Black and White students. The general pattern was for a breakdown in the transferal of attainment linked advantages from stage to stage in the process. It was not only that parents of Black youth had lower socio-economic status, but also that Black parents with status advantages were less able to transmit these advantages to their children's attitude development

or to their actual educational attainment. Likewise, school tracking had less consequences for Black youth.

Although senior year preferences for education and occupation were similar for both Blacks and Whites, Blacks consistently were less likely to enact their preferences. Since these estimates were made controlling for parental socio-economic status, racial differences in class origins do not account for racial difference in the attitude to behavior transferal. Given the similarity of attitudes between races, it can be hypotherized that the difference in preference enactment rather is an indirect global index of differential opportunity, barriers, knowledge and racism. That is, it is an indicator, of the social power that a group has for attainment.

Two additional race linked differences in levels of preferences should be discussed. First, the sharpest race difference in occupational choices was between the expectations of Black and White females. Slightly less than a third of the White females at both the senior and early adult period expressed an occupational expectation to become a "housewife" whereas this response was rarely given by Black women. Although the meaning of this pattern is unclear, two alternatives come to mind. First, it may be that the cognitive structure for occupation of Black women does not include "housewife" as an occupation while White women do conceive of it as such. Second, it may be that women of both races share the same cognitive structure of "housewife" as an occupation and that Black women neither aspire or expect to pursue that occupation.

Race related differences in preferences for residence were also found to be distinct. Blacks both as seniors and as young adults were

considerably more prone to express desires and expectations for urban residence. It should be recalled that the SYS is based on a sample of Southern rural youth and consequently preferences toward either small or large city residence also indirectly indicate an orientation of migration. As a career-related preference, residential choice suggests that Black youth incorporate a special locality condition in their achievement orientation. It is not simply that the prevalence of urban preferences among rural Blacks reflects their perceptions of limited opportunities in rural areas that is important. It should also be stressed that they are more likely to view migration as a necessary condition for attainment. In one sense migration to urban areas operates as a facilitator for Black attainment and as such can be detected in the differential career-related preferences for that locale. However, this migration can also be viewed as a special difficulty for rural Blacks, since migration constitutes a special requirement for attainment with possible disruptive aspects.

Our overview of sex and race differences in the career decision process of rural youth can be summarized in two themes. Both of which may have salience for the design of programs intended to improve the attainments of these groups. First, sex differences in the process generally involved the content of career preferences (restricted sex-typed orientations) and the greater depressing effects of familial influences attainment. Blacks, however, tended to have greater difficulties in transmitting advantages achieved at any stage in the process to the next phase. Consequently, programs directed toward rural women would emphasize expansion of the preference content of orientation and perhaps the consequences of early marriage and fertility on attainment.

Programs designated for rural Blacks would perhaps be more effective focusing on means and strategies of transmitting preferences into attainment.

In closing this research monograph, we would like to return our concern to the recognition of rural problems in a largely urban society. It is obviously difficult to draw attention in a dramatic way to the problems of rural areas in a country that is predominantly metropolitan and that has recently experienced a crisis in its cities. This resulting preoccupation with urban problems, however, should not overshadow the numerous difficulties facing Rural America. Admittedly, rural problems can be somewhat invisible for reasons other than urban dominance. The rural population by its very nature is dispersed over a large area with relatively few people in any one locale. Thus, it is impossible for one to easily experience the full impact of rural poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and malnutrition as dramatically as that produced by a visit to an urban ghetto or slum. It is our contention that an appreciation and conception of the magnitude and breadth of the rural population and its problems is necessary to understand the value of investigating achievement and attainment problems. It is our sincere desire that if this report accomplishes nothing else, it will acquaint the uninitiated to the importance of this sector of our society.

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